

# The Canadian Historical Review

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RELATING TO CANADA

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TORONTO, DECEMBER, 1930

No. 4

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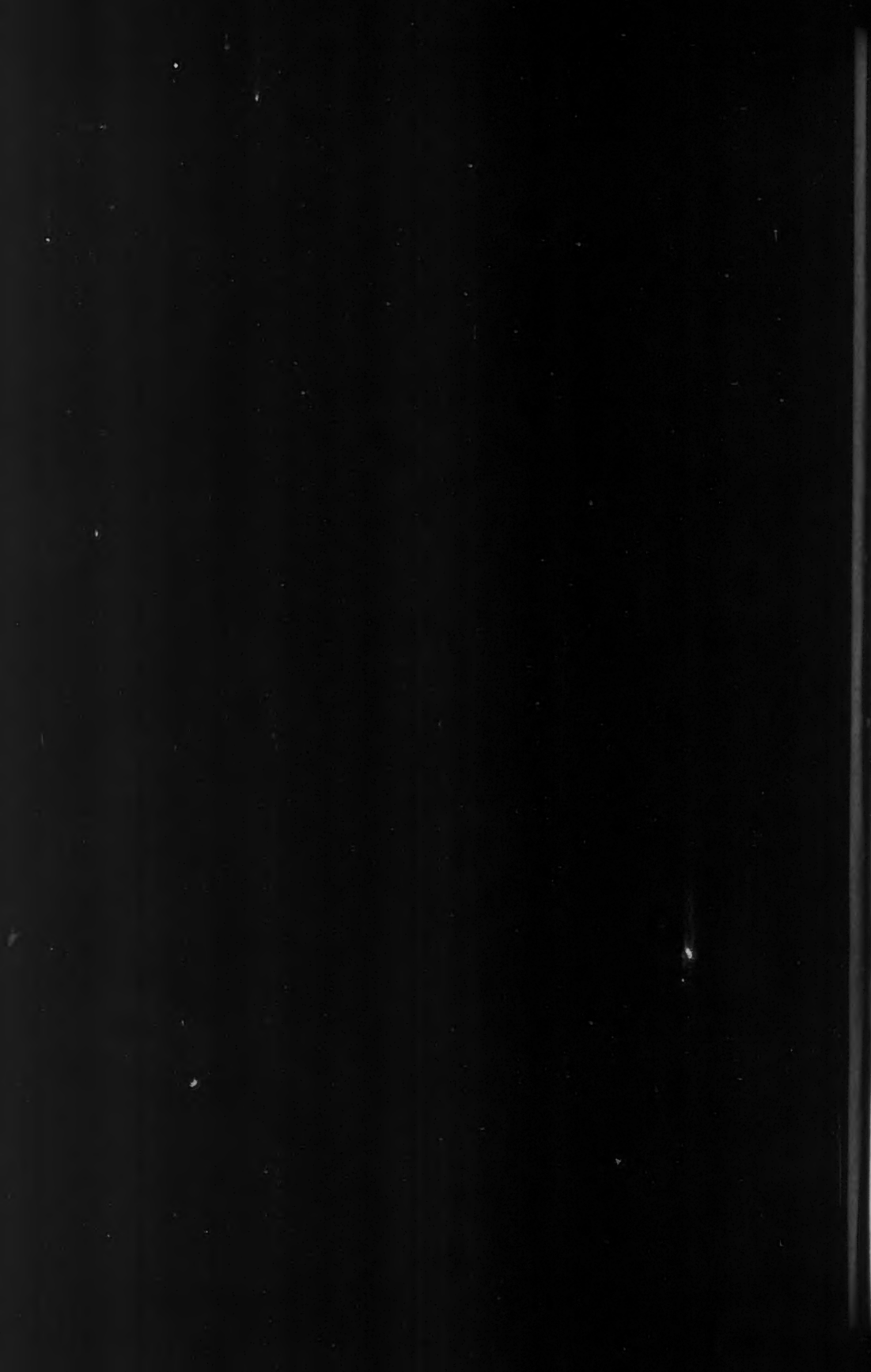
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# The Canadian Historical Review

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## NOTES AND COMMENTS

THE following observations with respect to names of historical interest preserved at Port Churchill have been sent to the REVIEW by Professor H. A. Innis of the University of Toronto:

The habit of writing names and addresses in conspicuous places is generally regarded with disfavour, but it is possible that a defence may sometimes be made of the practice as a means of preserving bits of interesting historical information. The point at which names cease to be regarded as objectionable and come to be regarded as venerable is difficult to determine. The names written on the rocks below Vermilion Chutes on Peace River during the rush to the Norman oil wells appeared in bad taste three or four years later in 1924. Names and advertisements on the high walls of rock at Skagway date back to the gold rush and are at present regarded with considerable interest. The names inscribed on the rocks at Churchill dating back to the building of the fort or to the 1730's are national landmarks. The preservation of these names following the opening of the port of Churchill cannot be guaranteed with certainty. They are presented herewith as at least one means of adding to their permanent preservation.

The names are found in two places. Anyone familiar with Samuel Hearne's, *A journey from Prince of Wales's fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean in the years of 1769, 1770, 1771 and 1772* (Toronto, 1917), edited for the Champlain Society by Mr. J. B. Tyrrell will remember the photograph of Hearne's name, "S<sup>t</sup> Hearne, July y 1 1767" inscribed on the smooth rocks which slope down on the right hand side looking into Sloops cove. Numerous other names are scattered about on these rocks, some initials only, others full names and dates, some clearly cut and others difficult to decipher. These names include those of the ships "Furnace & Discovery 1741" with the words "Pro Publ" inscribed near them;

J. Horner 1741[?]; T. P. 1744; William Davison 1747 [1?]; J. Marley 1748; T. H. 1750; Richard J. Johnson 1753; Guilford Long May ye 27 1753; James [Wilkin?] May 25, 1753; I. Wood 1757; John Wood July 6 1758; Wm. Story July 6, 1758; Harr<sup>n</sup> Wood 1760; John Groat 1765; Richard Georg Wood 1766; Robert Fowler 1766; John Irvin 1771; Geo. Holt 1771; Robert Smith 1776; Alex<sup>r</sup> Menzies 1776; Geo. Taylor 1787; P. Hamilton Aug 15, 1800. Undated names are: Cockeram, William Cockeram, J. Paterson, Richd Camm, I. Hall, Holdsworth, Thompson, Thomas Cowell Sept. 15 [1744?], Martin, John Dowler, J. Hulme, John Kelley from the Isle of Wight (this name has a suggestive picture underneath showing a man hanging from a scaffold). The Cove, to which so much interest was attached, is at present practically closed across the entrance by a gravel bar which has formed over an earlier stone breakwater. Scattered among the names are several holes which have been driven to hold iron rings and five of these rings still remain. On the opposite side two rings are left.

Some of the names are duplicated in the second place of interest, —the stones in the wall near the entrance of the old fort looking up the harbour. These names include: James Whorey Taylor 1751; Guilford Long of Rotherhith faecit 1754, with a hatchet drawn after it; Jno Paterson 1754; Wm Irvin 1752; Slush; Hry Robinson 1733; Wm. Mathews of Rotherhith 1755, with a hatchet drawn after it. We can apparently only be certain of the two masons from Rotherhithe, but it is probable that the remainder were engaged in the expeditions or in the construction of the fort.

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We note with regret the retirement of Mr. M. M. Quaife from the managing editorship of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, a post which he has occupied since he succeeded Professor C. W. Alvord in the summer of 1924. Mr. Quaife's ability as a writer and editor is well known to every student of the history of North America, and under his able direction the *Review* has continued to occupy a place of distinction among historical journals. The field covered by the *Review* touches at many points on Canadian history, and it is, therefore, a pleasure for the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW to add its word of appreciation of Mr. Quaife's services as editor. He has shown at all times not merely impartiality and competence but also a friendly attitude in his treatment of matters of common interest to the United States and Canada.

In the collection of manuscripts of Captain Du Loup, which has been put on sale recently in Leipzig, we note several items of considerable interest for Canadian history. Among them are: a memoir on the means of restoring French commerce, written about 1700; a discussion of the monopoly of trading companies, written about 1720; a large manuscript on the principles held by French ministers of naval affairs from 1669 to 1723; and eight volumes of original letters of La Courtaudière, fils, "commissaire des classes à Bayonne" to the commissioner of the French navy at Bordeaux, covering the period 1752-1760 and dealing with many phases of commerce and the naval war in America. Captain Du Loup expended a great deal of effort in collecting materials concerning the history of navigation in all its aspects.

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The article on Joseph Howe has been written by Mr. J. Bartlet Brebner of the history department of Columbia University. As Mr. Brebner points out, the episode here described has recently been touched upon by writers in the United States, so that it is as well perhaps that the story should be clearly told with the aid of all the private papers and by one who appreciates the record of Howe's great and permanent achievements. The story does not affect the importance of Howe's place in Canadian history, but it does, as the paper suggests, throw light on some phases of his later career. The note on the first published biography of Wolfe is by Dr. J. C. Webster of Shediac, N.B., who is well known as an authority on all things pertaining to Wolfe. The survey of recent books on the relations of Great Britain and the United States is by Professor W. T. Waugh of McGill University. The REVIEW is indebted again to Professor T. F. McIlwraith of the University of Toronto for the preparation of the annual list of publications on archæology and ethnology.

## JOSEPH HOWE AND THE CRIMEAN WAR ENLISTMENT CONTROVERSY BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES

### I

ON May 28, 1856, President Pierce dismissed the British minister to the United States, J. F. T. Crampton, and revoked the exequaturs of the British consuls at New York, Philadelphia, and Cincinnati. This action was the culmination of more than a year of difficulty between the United States and Great Britain over recruiting in the United States for the broken British army in the Crimea. The incident threatened to cause war between the two countries. It must, therefore, be given a place in the long list of crises involving Great Britain, the United States, and British North America, which the professional orator usually ignores in his eulogy of the century of peace.<sup>1</sup>

Quite recently, Mr. H. Barrett Learned, in writing the pioneer study of William Learned Marcy, United States secretary of state, 1853-1857, found it desirable in justice to a neglected statesman to investigate the whole affair in its relation to the foreign policy of the United States.<sup>2</sup> In the course of a long and difficult investigation, he discovered that "the chief figure engaged in disbursing funds to subordinates was a certain Joseph Howe, deliberately characterized by Attorney-General Cushing as a member of the

<sup>1</sup>The incident is not neglected in the biographies of Howe, but is not fully, or always accurately, told: see, *The speeches and public letters of the Hon. Joseph Howe*, edited by W. Annand (actually by Howe himself), (Boston, 1858); J. W. Longley, *Joseph Howe*, (Toronto, 1904), and as revised by W. L. Grant in *The makers of Canada*, VIII (Toronto, 1926); E. M. Saunders, *Three premiers of Nova Scotia* (Toronto, 1909); *The speeches and public letters of Joseph Howe*, revised and edited by J. A. Chisholm (Halifax 1909); W. L. Grant, *The tribune of Nova Scotia* (Toronto, 1915). My interest was aroused by conversation with Mr. Learned. Dr. Doughty, keeper of public records at Ottawa, was kind enough to open for us the confidential files of the *Joseph Howe papers* there. I am greatly indebted to Miss Norah Story, of the historical research and publicity division at Ottawa, who conducted extensive preliminary searches; and to Mr. W. Adams Slade, head of the bibliographical division of the Library of Congress, for assistance there. The investigation was assisted by a grant from the research fund of Columbia University.

<sup>2</sup>S. F. Bemis (ed.), *The American secretaries of state and their diplomacy* (New York, 1928), "William Learned Marcy", by Henry Barrett Learned, VI, 143-294, especially 237-262, "The enlistment controversy with Great Britain and the dismissal of Crampton", and appendix, 420-431.

Provincial Government, and resident at Halifax." Mr. Learned's interest, however, was primarily in the Anglo-American conflict, and it did not seem desirable to give much of his limited space to a discussion of how and why "The tribune of Nova Scotia" became involved in so questionable an affair. It is hoped that this paper will not only throw light on the personal aspect of the incident, and thus contribute to an understanding of the somewhat disappointing character of Howe's later career, but also that it will be a useful gloss on Mr. Learned's account of the enlistment controversy.

The foreign enlistment affair is tortuous enough in its course to provide many historical puzzles. The large number of persons involved in it ranged from statesmen in high office and lesser officials, to criminals and rogues; and, therefore, one is confronted by actions whose motives ranged from high policy to the most abject knavery. Because of the importance which he attached to the affair, Joseph Howe preserved every available scrap of paper concerning it.<sup>1</sup> Thanks to the excitement aroused in parliament and congress, most of the more public evidence was printed.<sup>2</sup> It would seem, then, that ordinary historical interpretation would provide a clear account of the incident, and it is true that anyone with patience can now work it out in general outline or in particular detail. Yet, having done so, explanation is another matter. The two nations in their diplomatic exchanges were more than ordinarily self-righteous and indignant, and equally unable to agree upon what was the subject of their differences. The whole diplomatic question may seem more understandable if it be taken for granted that fundamentally the United States and Great Britain proceeded from different premisses, were stimulated by very different international considerations, and finally reduced their disagreement to a simple inability to see eye to eye in international law. Such an outcome was, after all, not novel in Anglo-American relations, nor

<sup>1</sup>Public Archives of Canada, *Joseph Howe papers*, XVIII-XXIII, and LXV, hereafter referred to as *J.H.P.*

<sup>2</sup>Practically everything of an official or semi-official character of both Great Britain and the United States is to be found (although sometimes misleadingly extracted) in three collections in *Parliamentary papers*, house of commons, 1856, volume LX, being: 2080, "Papers relative to recruiting in the United States"; 2108, "Further papers relative to recruiting in the United States"; 2094, "Papers respecting recruiting in the United States, not already published in the papers laid before parliament, 2 May 1856, reprinted from a collection of papers, entitled 'Messages of the president'." These collections are hereafter referred to under their numbers, and originals are used where they give a more correct impression.

has it been so since, notably with regard to the rights of belligerents and neutrals.<sup>1</sup>

## II

In 1854, the people of Great Britain encountered abruptly the shocking experience which has so often come to a commercial community involved, after a long peace, in a first-class war. Great heroism in the Crimean campaign proved unavailing when accompanied by disorganization behind the lines, ineptness in strategy and tactics, and governmental failure to appreciate how war is conducted. For the first time, moreover, the British government was subjected to the goading of a great war-correspondent, William Howard Russell of *The Times*, who was appalled by what he saw on the field of operations. The complacency typified by the exhibition of 1851 was shattered, and the government tottered while cries went out for scapegoats and for immediate repair of deficiencies. Owing to the publicity as to Crimean conditions a rush to arms could hardly be expected, and, with a long war in prospect, the problem of replenishing the vanishing army was urgent. Palmerston wrote to his new secretary for war: "Do not let departmental or official or professional prejudices and habits stand in our way; we must override all such obstacles and difficulties. The only answer to give to objections on such grounds is, the thing *must* be done. We *must* have troops."<sup>2</sup> In consequence, the government fell back upon a practice which had served Britain in the past both on her own behalf and when her citizens had wanted to take part in the affairs of Greece or Spain or South America. On December 23, 1854, there was passed "An act to permit Foreigners to be enlisted, *etc.*"<sup>3</sup> which was to run until one year after the treaty of peace. This act was introduced before the peculiar situation in the United States had been brought to the attention of the government, and it was designed in the fashion of times fifty years earlier to recruit to British arms Germans, Swiss, Italians, Albanians, Poles, Turks, and irregulars drawn from the Balkans.

If the Crimean War meant unlooked-for international embar-

<sup>1</sup>The account which follows differs in matters of fact and of interpretation from that of Mr. Learned, but considerations of space and of historical importance make it unprofitable to treat the points controversially.

<sup>2</sup>Palmerston to Panmure, June 10, 1855, *The Panmure papers*, edited by Sir G. Douglas and Sir G. D. Ramsay (London, 1908), I, 232.

<sup>3</sup>18 Victoria, cap. II. There is a copy in *J.H.P.*, XVIII, 49-50.



rassment and loss of prestige to Great Britain and France, it meant opportunity to the United States, just at a time when she was becoming conscious of her potential strength and when the domestic problems inherent in the slavery question dictated diversion of national attention through the traditional medium of a strong foreign policy. President Pierce (like Polk an expansionist) had had difficulties over his cabinet appointments, and he had been able to make the inexperienced W. L. Marcy his secretary of state only after long negotiation and after refusing to allow his stubborn minister to Great Britain, James Buchanan, to take out of Marcy's hands the negotiations with Great Britain over reciprocity with Canada, the North Atlantic fisheries, and the vexing rivalries in Central America. Once in office, Marcy tried to justify his appointment by using the international situation related to the Crimean War for the advantage of the United States. He was not greatly successful in 1853 and 1854, and he and the ministers abroad, by a series of odd incidents, created an atmosphere of mystery, division of authority, and failure, which he was bound by vigorous effort speedily to obliterate.<sup>1</sup> He had, on the other hand, as soon as the Crimean War broke out, taken a wise step in declaring the neutrality of the United States, and had explained the American stand to his own diplomatic representatives and to those of the governments at war.

The news of British defeats and of the Foreign Enlistment Act became common knowledge in the United States and British North America about the beginning of 1855. The continent was in one of the economic depressions to which it was subject, and this added emphasis to the customary seasonal unemployment. It was natural, then, that numerous individuals in the United States and Canada, notably revolutionary *émigrés* from Europe, should see an opportunity of employment in the British army. They wrote to the colonial governors, to British consuls and to the British minister, and some of them called in person. Their characters and credentials varied greatly, ranging from those of former European, American, and British officers to those of obscure labour agents and crimps. Perhaps the most amusing offer was that of E. V. Ruthven (major-general, Tennessee militia) of "Rough and Ready", Marion County, Tennessee, to "raise and march a division of 6,000 men to the various ports in the United States" in return for \$1,500,000 to be deposited to his

<sup>1</sup>Learned, *Marcy*, 145-236.

credit in the United States.<sup>1</sup> The proposals were gradually assembled by the minister and governors and were transmitted to the Foreign Office, War Office, and Colonial Office, respectively. During January and February, 1855, Crampton received many of these requests, but, knowing the stand of the United States and lacking instructions from home, he was forced to reply with form letters saying that he had no authority to accept such services.<sup>2</sup> There was no question of his desire to do so, for on December 1, 1854, following a request from the Earl of Clarendon, he had asked the consuls to report on recruiting potentialities. But he felt that his hands were tied.

Release came in an unexpected way in the last week of February. On the 16th, Sidney Herbert, the colonial secretary, wrote to Sir J. Gaspard Le Marchant, lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia, sending him a copy of the Foreign Enlistment Act and saying that, in view of the information received concerning the desire of foreigners and British subjects in the United States to enlist, the government was interested in the possibility of setting up a depot at Halifax to which they might come. The despatch gave no authority to take action, but asked for transmission of information on specific points following confidential exchange of information and opinion with Crampton. Halifax was suggested as obviating the waste of transporting across the Atlantic recruits who might be rejected, and warning was given that "due respect to the laws of the United States as a neutral power" should be observed. The Earl of Clarendon, the foreign secretary, on the same day sent a copy of Herbert's despatch to Crampton with a covering letter in which he said:

The subject is one which engages the earnest attention of Her Majesty's Government, and you will use your best endeavours to give effect to their wishes.

You will communicate with Sir Gaspard Le Marchant and Her Majesty's Consuls in the United States upon this matter; but you will bear in mind that, however desirous Her Majesty's Government may be to obtain recruits, they are still more anxious that the laws of the United States should be scrupulously respected; and you will yourself take care, and recommend the utmost caution to Her

<sup>1</sup>A group of these offers and the replies made is in 2080, 183-195.

<sup>2</sup>I am unable to support the impression conveyed by Mr. Learned that M. F. O. Strobel or Henry Hertz was employed for recruiting by Crampton, or that Crampton was himself active in recruiting, prior to the arrival of Howe in the second week of March. Strobel himself states that he was recruited by Hertz about March 15, *ibid.*, 47.



Majesty's Consuls, that no cause of complaint on this ground be given to the United States' Government.<sup>1</sup>

Subsequent events revealed that Crampton and Le Marchant were thus presented with an almost perfect contradiction in terms—"get recruits, but respect United States neutrality." The trip to Halifax even from the seaboard cities was expensive and the potential recruits were "out-of-works." Merely to get them off to Halifax on the chance that they *might* enlist was a poor gamble. To contract with them to enlist was a breach of the United States neutrality laws. The stage was set for some impatient and active person to cut the Gordian knot.

Circumstances presented this opportunity to Joseph Howe. The motives which actuated him will be discussed later, but a word of reminder as to his character and attainments is in order here. In 1855 he was the most distinguished colonial citizen of the British Empire. He had attained that position by his own efforts, chiefly in his brilliant struggle for responsible parliamentary government in Nova Scotia, but also, for instance, in his personal victory over the opposition of Earl Grey and the Whig government in 1851 when he visited England to secure a large loan for an intercolonial railway. He had ousted colonial governors, he had helped to educate British public opinion and British governments in colonial realities, and he was the idol of Nova Scotia. He was one of the greatest orators and most adroit parliamentarians that North America had produced. Chiefly, of course, he was an artist in managing men. His wit, his fund of stories, his way with the ladies, and his winning personality, were strengthened by extraordinary physical vigour. In all, for twenty-five years he had risen steadily in personal victory over men and other obstacles, and he had the habit of success.<sup>2</sup>

It was natural that Le Marchant should call in Howe to discuss Sidney Herbert's despatch in spite of the fact that he was not a member of the government.<sup>3</sup> No one in the colony approached Howe in distinction, and the governor and he were intimate friends. Howe suggested that, as the matter was urgent, an agent

<sup>1</sup>*Ibid.*, 6. Clarendon had sent also, at some time earlier, a private letter to Crampton concerning the urgency of restoring the depleted army. This I have been unable to obtain.

<sup>2</sup>"His natural self-assertion was so strong that proper deference to his superiors was more of a studied than an instinctive habit", Saunders, *Three premiers of Nova Scotia*, 54.

<sup>3</sup>Howe was, at the time, chairman of the railway commission and had resigned from the cabinet, although he retained his seat in the house.

be sent to discuss it personally with Crampton, and that this agent be one of the council. No councillor was anxious to go and Howe's name was almost inevitably put forward instead. "Mr. Howe only accepted this mission at my most earnest request", wrote Sir Gaspard,<sup>1</sup> but it is possible to detect in their discussions signs of the predominance of Howe's vigorous and inventive mind.

On March 1, agreement was reached. Howe was to sail for Boston on the 3rd and go to Washington by way of New York. Meanwhile, Sir Gaspard showed him all the correspondence, furnished him with credentials, and wrote to Crampton about their deliberations. He was worried by the delicacy of the situation and anxious that his authority should not be exceeded or damage done to the sensibilities and laws of the United States. Because of this, Howe left Halifax empowered *only to investigate the situation and to report*, and even for these purposes it was judged wise that he should appear to act as commissioner of railways interested in the labour market. The governor did, however, envisage the possibility that Crampton might have received further powers from Great Britain and he surrendered his initial authority to Crampton if that should be the case.<sup>2</sup> At any rate, Joseph Howe's vivid imagination had material on which to work during his "rough and disagreeable" five-day passage in the brigantine "Africa" to Boston.<sup>3</sup>

He left Boston on the day of his arrival, having written to Sprague and Soulé & Company of that city some enquiries as to the labour market, and reached New York on the evening of March 8. He had some difficulty in finding Anthony Barclay, the local consul, and, as he wanted to reach Washington "after dark", he put off any extended discussion with Barclay until his return. He strolled and drove about the streets and chatted with labouring

<sup>1</sup>To Lord John Russell, May 10, 1855, *J. H. P.*, XVIII, 657-661.

<sup>2</sup>Note the explicit language of Le Marchant's instructions to Howe, Mar. 1, 1855, *ibid.*, 53-56: "The discharge of your duties will, of course, be confined to enquiries and investigation, in relation to the subject matter of the dispatches, unless Mr. Crampton, by virtue of any authority that may have been delegated to him by Her Majesty's Government, shall empower you by written instructions to *act* in furtherance of the views of the latter"; corroborated in his letter to Crampton of the same date, *ibid.*, 59-62, with which he sent a copy of his despatch to Herbert of the same date, which was a recapitulation of his acts and correspondence, *ibid.*, 63-67. On Mar. 2, he again wrote to Crampton, privately, *ibid.*, XXI, 243-5, "I have most strictly enjoined Mr. Howe not to move a step in this matter without written instructions, as my despatches only invite an opinion as to the practicability of the proposed scheme, and in no way whatever arm me with authority for calling it into existence."

<sup>3</sup>The Journal, *ibid.*, LXV, 178-180.

people in all quarters of the city, and, as the result of his conversations with them and with Barclay, had the impression "*that the most favorable moment had passed*" because of the easing of the money market and the opening up of the fisheries, the rivers, and the canals. Next morning he set out for Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington, enjoying the novel experience, making notes on what he saw from the trains, and not omitting to record the stories, decorous and otherwise, which he collected from his fellow-passengers. He reached Washington at eight o'clock, put up at Brown's, dressed, and went off to see Crampton in Georgetown. "Gracious reception—unbounded confidence. Cigars. Tea. the Attachés. The Memo. Letters. Bravo! all right. Back to bed, and very happy." The conference lasted until two a.m. and Howe was off again to Baltimore before daylight.

Inasmuch as the first stage of British recruiting, that of March and April, had at least part of its origin in the Howe-Crampton conference of the night, March 9-10, it is fortunate that Howe's record of it, with corroborative materials, has been preserved.<sup>1</sup> The character of the discussion can, perhaps, be best summarized by remembering that, while Howe was strictly limited to investigation unless he received written orders from Crampton, not only did he not receive anything of the sort from Crampton, but instead himself drew up a memorandum on how he should act and left it in Crampton's possession. That reversal of rôles was the measure of Howe's strength and Crampton's weakness. One can feel the rise of Howe's confidence and ascendancy in the records of the meeting, and one can imagine Crampton's relief as this lively stranger proposed to take on his broad shoulders the responsibilities which had so worried him and the consuls. Now the officials need not soil the hems of their garments. While they abstained from embarrassing activities, the Nova Scotian gave every assurance of vigorous and unhampered attention to the cause.

The order of business that night gave Howe his opportunity to dominate Crampton, for, after the ambassador had read from private letters concerning the urgency of the situation, the first matter discussed was a letter from General William Rowan, commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America, written in reply to Crampton's enquiry as to whether Canadians could be enlisted and Canada used as a training depot for recruits.

<sup>1</sup>Howe to Le Marchant, Mar. 12, *ibid.*, XVIII, 91-105; Howe's memorandum for Crampton, Mar. 9-10, *ibid.*, XIX, 56-61; Howe's report for the British government, May 8, 1855, *ibid.*, XVIII, 670-712; and other scattered references.

Rowan's report (to Howe, "so perfectly 'Balaclava' ") consisted chiefly of objection after objection, culminating in the conclusion that, even if men could be got, they could not be properly inspected and trained. "My first duty, to all parties", wrote the sanguine Howe, "was to get rid of this old ["old" struck out] General and his Report." He was in his element on the subject of Halifax as the depot, and pointed out to Crampton that every consideration of expense and of getting the recruits quickly to sea and beyond the jurisdiction of the United States supported the choice. "Mr. Crampton at once decided that Halifax should be the rendezvous and that I should have full powers to act according to my own discretion in carrying out the views of Her Majesty's Government, subject of course to such other instructions as I might, from time to time, receive."

"The Neutrality Laws were the next difficulty", and it is to be observed that in this matter Crampton made two serious mistakes. He thought in terms of United States municipal law instead of international law, and he really concerned himself with the "difficulty" of the municipal law almost exclusively in its relation to the accredited British representatives in the United States. Under the circumstances, his warnings to Howe and other agents may have been sincere, but an intelligent person would surely have doubted their efficacy. The basic assumption was that, by operating from Nova Scotia, no breach of the neutrality law need be committed. Crampton and Howe agreed that Le Marchant should take the responsibility of advertising for, receiving, maintaining, and training recruits, "doing no act beyond your own territory to which objection can be taken." The expenses of investigation and transportation were to be met by the Nova Scotian treasury until arrangements could be made for it to draw on Great Britain.<sup>1</sup> Speed, Howe urged, was the one important consideration and, because it would take some time to hear from Le Marchant and weeks to hear from Britain, "the responsibility of all that is to be done in this country is to rest upon me, the Consuls aiding by such information or hints as they can give, but not being directly employed." On this basis, then, Howe went off to investigate, and, if possible, to exploit the opportunity to obtain men—"I could not demand from Mr. Crampton 'written instructions', as directed by the Provincial Secretary, because, in the event of any indiscretion on my part, or any seizure of my

<sup>1</sup>The War Office ultimately provided this money. Peel to Merivale, Apr. 13, 1855, *ibid.*, XXI, 165-8.

papers, such a document would be fatal to his position." Nothing was to be done which could be traced to anyone except the lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia. Crampton gave Howe letters to Consuls Mathew of Philadelphia and Barclay of New York and a list of the names and addresses of those who had offered themselves to him and whom he had put off. Howe promised to send to Nova Scotia all his papers, and from then on he took no chance of incriminating material remaining in his possession. In all, he made two secret visits to Crampton and he "never mentioned his name in the United States in connexion with the Foreign Legion." He "acted invariably upon the principle that whoever was to be compromised or sacrificed, the Queen's Representative at Washington ought to be protected."<sup>1</sup>

Two considerations require examination at this point: (1) the relation of authority among the persons involved, and (2) the force of the United States neutrality law. It has been shown that the British government actually gave Le Marchant and Crampton no authority to recruit, although the former was instructed to investigate and the latter told in addition of how badly Britain needed soldiers. Le Marchant in turn gave Howe no authority beyond his own, but envisaged the possibility that Crampton might possess more. Crampton, reinforced only by private letters, which, by Howe's account, dealt only with the urgent need for recruits, allowed Howe to convince him that the need was apparent, the inference plain, and Howe willing and able to carry the responsibility of positive action. Howe acted without authority because he was sure that the British government would approve his actions, as it, in effect, did. As to Crampton's relation to the consuls, this was, in 1855, somewhat open to doubt, although they were instructed to make reports to him for the government on all important business. It was only in 1861 that the consular general instructions cleared up misapprehensions by stating categorically that "the Consular Service is in all matters strictly subordinate to the Diplomatic Service." In spite of this doubt, it can be taken for granted that the consuls in the United States looked to and accepted Crampton's authority.<sup>2</sup>

Crampton began to be uneasy about the neutrality laws as

<sup>1</sup>Howe to Le Marchant, Oct. 9, 1855, *ibid.*, XIX, 109-111.

<sup>2</sup>I am indebted to the British Library of Information, New York, for securing from the Foreign Office the two documents which state the formal situation. They are *General instructions to her majesty's consuls, 1848*, and *Foreign Office circular of May 2, 1861*, thereafter enclosed in consular *General instructions*.

soon as the glow of certainty and optimism surrounding Howe had departed. The next day he called in his American legal adviser, a distinguished Washington lawyer named James Mandeville Carlisle,<sup>1</sup> and asked him to state precisely what kinds of activity were permissible under the Act of Congress of April 20, 1818.<sup>2</sup> Carlisle's opinion proved to be thoroughly discouraging. To any but the most determined and optimistic person it seemed to leave no loop-hole for securing recruits in the United States, and it contained a special warning on the matter for British officials. Crampton sent off copies of it to the consuls and to Howe, and in his covering letter to the latter he said:

You will perceive that what can be done in the U.S. either by agents of H.M. Gov<sup>t</sup> directly or by American citizens or residents is restricted within very narrow limits, and that great caution will be required to avoid even the least appearance of employing any device for eluding the law . . . . it might perhaps be well that we should make arrangements for a further conference after you have ascertained what are the prospects of success in the Eastern cities, but before we decide upon the adoption of any decisive measures.<sup>3</sup>

Howe received this letter and the opinion on March 16 in New York, but refused to be daunted by them. As a matter of fact he had, in the intervening five days, already set up recruiting machinery in Philadelphia and New York! Personally satisfied that recruits should be obtained, he acted with his customary swiftness and semi-consciously exploited the initiative which he had won from Crampton. He replied blandly: "The ground is indeed narrow, but I shall tread it circumspectly. It is better that I should run some risk than that our Government should be without men, assuming them to be wanted."<sup>4</sup> He told of what he had done, and next day wrote again about the "very simple" invention by which he avoided "offence to the authorities of this country." The law forbade anyone to "hire or retain" recruits to go abroad. Howe avoided this contractual arrangement by having cards printed, marked "N.S.R." These were given to the recruiting agents, who gave them to the recruits, who presented them to

<sup>1</sup>Allen Johnson (ed.), *Dictionary of American biography* (New York, 1929), III, 494. Mr. Learned verified this identification for me by consultation with one of Carlisle's descendants.

<sup>2</sup>*Statutes at Large*, 447-450. The opinion, 2080, 7-8; Howe's copy, *J.H.P.*, XXIII, 479-481.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, XVIII, 83-85.

<sup>4</sup>Mar. 16, *ibid.*, 146-151.



selected shipping agents in Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, who finally used them as vouchers for collecting, in Nova Scotia, the passage money which they had advanced. "The 'N.S.R.' may mean Nova Scotia Regiment, or *Railroad*!"<sup>1</sup> If Crampton had been a stronger man, or less anxious to see recruits obtained, he would have stopped Howe immediately, but by the time he heard of all this the fat was in the fire and he let it burn.<sup>2</sup> From then on Howe was almost his own master and knew it, and he gave more attention to the business in hand than to his laconic assurances now to Le Marchant and now to Crampton that the other approved of all that he did.<sup>3</sup>

Interesting as were Howe's actions in this first period, a sketch of their salient features must suffice. He was besieged by offers to recruit or enlist—"Schleswick Holstein officers, Scotch Military enthusiasts, German Jew Crimps and God knows how many more strange animals"—and from among them he selected the four who seemed most promising: Henry Hertz of Philadelphia, who promised to furnish 1,000 men from Pennsylvania and Maryland at \$8.00 a head delivered in Nova Scotia; Angus McDonald of New York, who promised another 1,000 in Nova Scotia in return for a lieutenant-colonelcy, £250 for his equipment, and \$1.00 a head from the bounty money as gratuity; Andrew Lutz of New York, who promised 436; and Lewis E. Grant, of New York, who talked in thousands and pledged himself to raise a regiment of 1,000. They were, however, a sorry lot. The day Howe met Hertz, whose activities and confession were to cause most of the subsequent trouble, he noted prophetically in his journal:

One of the greatest rascals that I ever met, who has been visitting and boring Crampton for weeks with offers of service . . . . Energetic as a Steam Engine, but wish I had not been referred to him. May be useful and must be tried but I think he is a lineal descendant of the Jew who sold his Saviour for 30 pieces of silver, and for 30 pieces of gold this rascal would sell the whole British Army.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Mar. 17, *ibid.*, 159-166.

<sup>2</sup>To Howe, Mar. 19, *ibid.*, 197-200.

<sup>3</sup>To Le Marchant, May 8, *ibid.*, 670-712: "I thought it my duty to act promptly, and to assume all the responsibilities incident to the position, without waiting for minute instructions either from Your Excellency or from Home which could not possibly reach me until much valuable time had been lost."

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, LXV, 186-187. Hertz tried to exploit his relations with Howe, but soon gave himself away as a rogue, and was brought to heel. He then recruited carelessly, was arrested, convicted, and got off by subscribing to a useful confession. Dropped by the district attorney and Attorney-General Cushing thereafter, he was indicted shortly

Yet, at first, Howe was optimistic.<sup>1</sup> For one thing, he had hit upon a device to finance the undertaking. Under the Foreign Enlistment Act, each recruit was entitled to a bounty of £6 on acceptance, and Howe based his plan on deducting from this the expenses incidental to getting the recruit to Halifax. His next step was to draw up and have printed a proclamation, under the arms of Great Britain and signed by the provincial secretary of Nova Scotia, to the effect that a depot for a foreign legion had been set up at Halifax, that recruits would be acceptable on certain terms, and that shipmasters who took "poor men willing to serve Her Majesty" to Nova Scotia would receive passage money as from Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. There was in it no mention of agencies in the United States, and he sent copies of it to Washington, Halifax, and London, confident that it did not constitute a breach of the neutrality laws. His most unconventional behaviour was to write directly to Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston, telling them what he had been doing, what he hoped for, and what he thought ought to be done in the way of sending to the Crimea the troops in Canada and Nova Scotia. Moreover, the officer in charge of works at the Brooklyn dock-yard, by local courtesy "General" Ward B. Burnett, was anxious to arrange with Howe to sell him arms for his recruits, "surplus" rifles which he was confident of obtaining from United States stores. Howe, therefore, went out to Sharp's factory at Hartford, tried out their weapons on the practice ranges, bought a rifle and a carbine, and shipped them to London for the secretary for war to examine, having written Palmerston of their desirability as arms for the foreign legion and, indeed, to replace the antiquated weapons of the entire British army.

The bubble was bound to burst. Regiments could not be recruited in the Philadelphia and New York of 1855 without attracting attention. The chosen agents had no interest in the affair except the financial one, and they confused recruiting for Great Britain with recruiting for filibustering expeditions from the

afterwards for three crimes. His last exploit was to offer to the British to sell them all he knew about Cushing's management of the evidence in the recruiting trial! His offer was rejected.

<sup>1</sup>He wrote to Palmerston and Crampton that there should be 3,000 in Halifax by April 1, and 4,000 or 5,000 by June 1. He talked cheerfully of throwing a regiment or two into New Brunswick or Canada if recruits came faster than he could get ships. To Palmerston he promised 6,000 by the end of April and hoped for 10,000. Howe to Crampton, Mar. 21, *ibid.*, XVIII, 215-220; to Palmerston, s.d., *ibid.*, 223-234. His field of enquiry as to recruits even included New Orleans.



United States. It proved impossible to impress upon them, and upon the remoter figures at the fringes of the organization, the technical delicacy of Howe's devices for keeping within the law. For a while he maintained the pretence that the whole procedure was legally defensible, even to the point of accepting the thesis that, on reaching Nova Scotia, the putative recruits might or might not enlist.<sup>1</sup> But this evasion of "hire or retain" was likely to be forgotten as expenses incidental to getting men away mounted up, and altogether it was too much to hope for that such an elaborate machine would function without trouble.

Even if the agents had been deft and scrupulous, the authorities of the United States would not passively accept evasion of neutrality, nor would Russian officials and indignant Irishmen allow them to ignore it. Public opinion, moreover, seems to have been in general anti-British, if not so pro-Russian as Howe and others believed. Active district attorneys and their marshals in Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, urged on by Washington, when they learned that men were actually leaving the country, took practical steps to stop them. Sometimes with, and sometimes without warrants, they boarded ships and took off the men. They kept in touch with Attorney-General Caleb Cushing and in the last ten days of March and the first week of April they pretty thoroughly smashed the recruiting machinery. Agents were arrested, and the affair reached diplomatic circles when Angus McDonald issued a recruiting handbill in New York,<sup>2</sup> claiming the authority of the British government for his offer of assisted passages. This alarmed Consul Barclay, who had shown himself to be anxious to keep out of the affair anyway, and he forwarded it to Crampton, who promptly denied that McDonald had any such authority, and on March 22, interviewed Marcy and repeated the denial. When he wrote to Howe about it, Howe said that McDonald had assured him that the advertisement had been passed upon by a New York lawyer, but that it was proving difficult to control McDonald and Grant. Howe was, at the moment,

<sup>1</sup>An amusing consequence of this stand was that when two groups (about 120) of Irishmen landed at Windsor, N.S., they were got at by William Condon, president of the Charitable Irish Society, and "to a man they refused to enlist declaring that their engagements had been made not for Military Service but for labour in Nova Scotia Railways." Le Marchant could do nothing but engage them for that. Condon also wired to a New York Irish paper that Irishmen were being entrapped for military service, and thus contributed to the embarrassment of Howe's machinery there. Le Marchant to Russell, Apr. 4, *ibid.*, XXI, 263-7.

<sup>2</sup>2080, 10-11.

apprehensive of his own arrest, and he concluded warningly: "You are quite right in disclaiming responsibility for anything they do, or anything that I do either."<sup>1</sup>

In spite of the dangers of these days, Howe's journal shows him to have been in surprisingly good spirits and capable of remarkable endurance. As late as March 22 he was enjoying life in New York, dining at the homes of wealthy friends and attending theatre and opera. In view of conditions in the seaboard cities, he sent his man, an Irish civil engineer named T. L. Bucknall, off to Washington with letters asking Crampton whether they might send recruits to Canada. Hertz was making a nuisance of himself with written and telegraphic demands for money from Philadelphia. His resources were nil, and his proposal to send recruits at his own expense was only a device to share in the profits of recruiting or to exploit his admission to British confidence. Then a note came in from Sir Gaspard, telling of his ignorance as to what was going on and concluding: "But for God's sake do not exceed your authority. Look to Mr. C. in everything for I am wholly without powers or instructions from the Home Govt. to order anything or justify any act of yours beyond that of following out the ambassador's wishes."<sup>2</sup>

On March 24 the journal reads: "Heather on fire. Newspapers blazing away and everybody frightened. Don't exactly 'fear each bush an officer' but fancy that there is always a Policeman at Delmonico's corner . . . 3 o'clock. Bucknall back. Must start for Washington at 6. Crampton evidently frightened." On the 25th: "Arrived at Washington at 6. Slept till 10. Breakfasted and off to Georgetown. Soon put all right. Long conference with Mr. Carlisle, Legal Adviser to our Legation, a sharp gentlemanly little fellow." He went back to Philadelphia where he wrote and copied a long despatch, and then "had a tremendous battle to choke off and bring the Jew [Hertz] to reason." He still had energy enough to go to the Circus, and then, with new-found friends, "Ten hours sit at the Club. Drank them all drunk. Telegraph from Bucknall. Things in a mess. Off to New York at one" (a.m. March 27). He spent the day clearing up his papers and left Delmonico's and the state of New York in favour of the Hotel Napoleon, Hoboken. Next day he learned that Hertz and a lunatic Englishman named Perkins had been arrested at Philadelphia. On the 31st his messenger, Bucknall, was arrested, and

<sup>1</sup>Mar. 24, *J.H.P.*, XVIII, 271-3.

<sup>2</sup>Mar. 22, *ibid.*, 258-261.

Howe heard that a bill of indictment against himself had been prepared for the grand jury, but not presented because of lack of evidence. On the 30th after a reconnaissance in a closed cab—"Everybody scattered or frightened out of their wits"—he had moved to Jersey City, but when his hotel proved dirty and Grant was brought to him there, he moved a third time, on the 31st, to still another Jersey City hotel.<sup>1</sup>

It was on his way from his second conference with Crampton, and after his long talk with Carlisle, that Howe sat down in Philadelphia and drafted the letter to Le Marchant which reveals most clearly his conception of his rôle and the height of his confidence in assuming it.<sup>2</sup> In it he first explained away, on the plea of time, his presumption in writing directly to Palmerston. He said he was now acting under the advice of Carlisle. He had decided to answer, by a signed letter to the press, any attack which should be made upon him there by name. This introduced his general public thesis of recruiting, which was that Le Marchant had been empowered to raise a foreign legion in Nova Scotia, that advertisements offering free passages had been published there, that Howe had assured persons addressing him in the matter that he had no authority, but was confident that Le Marchant's representations would be lived up to if they presented themselves to him in Halifax. So much for the proposed public letter. He then went on to confidential actualities. Crampton could do nothing. Le Marchant could act only in Nova Scotia. That would obtain few recruits. Someone must employ agents, hire vessels, and aid prospective recruits:

Now I mean to do *what the British Government want done*, and what Your Excellency sent me here to do, without expecting what the nature of the service precludes, 'orders' or detailed instructions *from any quarter . . . .* That I can do this without violating the

<sup>1</sup>There is a tale in Saunders, *Three premiers of Nova Scotia*, 286, repeated in Grant, *The tribune of Nova Scotia*, 131, that he escaped from his New York hotel by the window. I can find no corroboration of this, and imagine it to be hearsay of one of the exaggerations that Howe allowed himself in retrospect.

<sup>2</sup>Mar. 26, before his battle with Hertz and party at the Philadelphia Club (*J.H.P.*, LXV, 213), *ibid.*, XXI, 66-72, XXIII, 351-387. With it should be read his calm reply to Le Marchant's note of Mar. 22, written on Apr. 4, *ibid.*, XVIII, 315-321. Too much credence should not be given to his assurances that Crampton approved of all that he did. This is difficult to reconcile with Crampton's confidence that Howe was keeping within the Neutrality Law. In a note to him of Apr. 9, for instance, he said there was no reason why Howe should not write by ordinary post "for there is nothing illegal in what you are engaged in", *ibid.*, 441-447.

Neutrality laws I do not believe . . . . I am prepared at all points, and all that I must stipulate for is, 'room to move.'

He went on to explain his new technique of sending to Nova Scotia foreign officers to be commissioned and return to recruit. He concluded with a eulogy of Sharp's rifles and carbines—"if I were Minister at War I would buy Sharp's whole establishment and remove it instantly to England or to Halifax." Is it any wonder that the most feared person in the world to professional soldiers and diplomats is a vigorous, inventive civilian?

The outburst in New York and Philadelphia hardened his resolution. He wrestled with the facts and the possibilities of arrest or betrayal "over and over in the solitude of my little parlour in Hoboken." He decided to go on as best he could, to risk arrest and, if it occurred, to get bail and go on until the trial, when he would allow circumstances or orders from Great Britain to decide whether to forfeit his bail or trust to one of his own appeals to the jury. Life was quite exciting just then. Grant got off some men (the Irish who "enlisted" on the railroad), but tried again and was arrested. McDonald on his own authority went off to Quebec to interview Sir Edmund Head, governor of Canada, about sending recruits there and was thoroughly snubbed. Howe's New York retreat (Chapellerie Parisienne, 299 Broadway) was invaded one night by "two villainous looking rascals." "Thought game was up. Course already determined. Kept cool. In search of Englishman with whiskers . . . might be Turnbull or Bucknall. Was not me. Questions and answers. All puzzled. I strangely perplexed. . . . went down. Rascals at the door with lame Piper. More enquiries, promptly answered." He went on to his dinner engagement, "but those infernal fellows' hard faces are present to me all the time."<sup>1</sup>

In spite of all this, it was at this time that he secured his best agent, John Turnbull, and employed a new messenger, a young German officer named Parkus. He was seriously embarrassed by the "confounded Halifax papers coming back filled with gasconade." Yet he chose these days to issue his public letter, signed "British American", in defence of the British recruiting policy and in explanation of its correctness.<sup>2</sup> It was a lively effort, along

<sup>1</sup>*Ibid.*, LXV, 170-167: the pages at this point are numbered in this order.

<sup>2</sup>Draughted Mar. 31, sent to Harper's to be printed, published in full by *The Times*, Apr. 5, translated into German, French, and Italian, and upon subsidy published in the foreign language press. Howe reported that the tone of the press changed, following the lead given by *The Times*. Copy, *ibid.*, XVIII, 437.

the lines indicated in his letter to Le Marchant of March 26, and its total effect was that of advertising the foreign legion still more widely, and of painting, in an infectious way, the justice of the British cause with Russia and the heroism of her troops.

Meanwhile, he had conceived a great admiration for a Hungarian nobleman, Gabriel de Korponay, and employed him to dine and entertain the many foreigners of the officer class, who still came to him, in an effort to sift out some reputable officers for the legion. Korponay had no great luck, and he and Howe gradually swung around to a new recruiting scheme.

This scheme had two aspects and involved two new methods of procedure. The situation in the seaboard cities was tense and it made any centralized scheme of recruiting very difficult there. The first new method, therefore, was that a few promising foreign officers were to be sent off to Halifax to interview Le Marchant *and be commissioned*,<sup>1</sup> with rank in proportion to the number of recruits they might obtain. After careful instruction they were to return to the United States, where their prestige among the Germans, Poles, Hungarians, and others would enable them quietly to recruit. Shipping agents were to forward their men on the old terms and John Turnbull was to stay in New York and supervise the emigration, assisting here and there where it was financially necessary. M. F. O. Strobel, incidentally, was one of the first group of officers to go to Halifax.<sup>2</sup>

The second aspect of the new policy was the quest for recruits on the western frontier of the United States. Charles Rowcroft, British consul at Cincinnati, while he did not feel free to help in recruiting, thought that 1,000 men could be gathered there by

<sup>1</sup>Howe explained it all in a letter to Le Marchant, Apr. 2, *ibid.*, 295-306, and urged him to treat them well.

<sup>2</sup>He proved to be very adroit and won over to confidence in him not only Le Marchant, but Crampton as well, when the latter went north in May. As the trusted agent who assisted in organizing a scheme for depots in Canadian border towns, he had an excellent fund of information, documentary and otherwise. He proved, however, to be unsatisfactory and was reprimanded for suspicious dilatoriness. Failing in an attempt at blackmail, he returned to the United States and became the leading witness in the test case on recruiting, the trial of Hertz and Perkins. If Crampton is to be believed, on Feb. 18 or 19, 1856, he was in financial difficulties at Willard's Hotel, Washington, but suddenly paid his bill in gold and left. A large robbery was committed in the hotel at the same time and Willard and some police managed to follow Strobel's very devious trail and arrest him. His defence was that Attorney-General Cushing was employing him on important public business and had just paid him \$200 in gold. Cushing corroborated this, the papers did not mention any names, and the affair was hushed up except in the diplomatic drawing-rooms. *Ibid.*, XIX, 256-264.

Howe or his agents. Korponay believed in Kentucky and was sure he could raise at least 600 trained riflemen in that state. Howe, therefore, decided to go west by degrees, sending out Korponay now and then like a scout to investigate and report. It is to be suspected, too, that he wanted to maintain his independence and keep out of touch with Crampton and Le Marchant.<sup>1</sup> He secured another legal opinion from the firm of Fullerton and Dunning in New York and turned over to them the defence of his agent, Andrew Lutz.<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile, Le Marchant was much upset because he had received no news or additional authority from London or Washington, and, on April 9, Howe received four messages from Halifax summoning him to a conference. He once more played off Le Marchant with Crampton, said his presence was required in the United States and refused to go, short of an explicit command. This was not forthcoming and, having written his explanations to Halifax and Washington, he set off to Albany. From Albany he went across to Boston for April 14 and 15 to make shipping arrangements with the firms of Sprague and Soulé and Clarke and Jones. On the 16th he went to Albany and met Korponay. On the 18th he went on to Buffalo.

His western recruiting required a new procedure and he now tried to set it in operation. As early as March 21, he had contemplated setting up recruiting depots in Canada and New Brunswick, and had asked Crampton to approach Governor Sir Edmund Head on the matter.<sup>3</sup> Receiving no reply, he telegraphed to Sir Allan MacNab at Quebec asking whether he would accept recruits. On April 4, Sir Allan replied that he had no authority to do so. On April 14, having learned that Grant and McDonald had been worrying Head with the same request, Howe wrote to him explaining the situation, denying that Grant or McDonald had any authority, and giving the reason for his telegram to Sir Allan. He said that he was off for the west and would like to send recruits to the Canadian garrison towns. Would Sir Edmund wire him "Yes" or "No" to Louisville, Cincinnati, Buffalo, Pitts-

<sup>1</sup>It is noteworthy that, except for the briefest intervals, it was almost impossible to reach him speedily from March 27 to May 4. Even his *alter ego*, Turnbull, was occasionally at a loss, and the consuls, with letters and telegrams for him, even more so.

<sup>2</sup>April 9, *ibid.*, XVIII, 450. While Howe was away, his cousin, the wealthy Thomas Tilestone of New York, had to settle for him, at the cost of \$1,000, a marine arbitration over the hiring of the "Louisiana" (Capt. McNeil) for recruits who never materialized, *ibid.*, 585-586.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, 215-220.



burgh, or Washington?<sup>1</sup> Sir Edmund refused to be drawn. Finally, from Niagara Falls on April 18, Howe telegraphed to Head, and on the 23rd, having had no reply, he tried General Rowan. This time the answer came back: "Cannot authorize what you ask. Must decline correspondence by telegraph on this subject. E. Head."<sup>2</sup>

There was nothing to do but get back to New York and urge Crampton to bring pressure to bear upon Head. Howe was in New York, April 25-27, and wrote at length. Then he took the remarkable step of granting authority "by command of the Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia" to Korponay to raise a regiment of 600 Kentucky riflemen and command it. Turnbull was to help in getting the men to Halifax, and the cost was to be met from the \$18,000 bounty money.<sup>3</sup> Howe then set to work to clear up all the odds and ends of business and to leave Turnbull instructions and what money he had available. He interviewed the foreign officers, who had returned from Halifax, and acquainted them with the organization as it stood. He went on to Boston and was there from April 28 to May 2, interviewing the shipping agents and more of the foreign officers. Here he repeated, on behalf of Counts Smolenski (commander) and Lanckorowski (second-in-command), his authorization to raise a regiment on somewhat similar terms to those for Korponay. He failed to realize that, in this way, he was introducing jealousy and suspicion among the foreign officers at work in the east, who felt that the two counts had been given an unfair advantage.<sup>4</sup> He and Turnbull had just elaborated a new device, a "Promissory Note" for the \$30.00

<sup>1</sup>*Ibid.*, 495-502.

<sup>2</sup>Howe was very indignant over this to Crampton, Apr. 26, *ibid.*, 617-634. Head, on the other hand, was genuinely puzzled and sent his civil secretary to Niagara. He found many traces of Howe's enthusiasm, but, of course, no recruits. Public Record Office, *Series C.O. 42*, vol. 598, Head to Russell, May 10, 1855, and enclosures.

<sup>3</sup>*J.H.P.*, XVIII, 539-544. Korponay got this regiment practically ready in Cincinnati, but had not funds to transport them. Turnbull had no money left and could get none from Howe, but went out to help. The authorities broke up the gathering and arrested Consul Rowcroft, Korponay, and Turnbull, although their case was never tried. Korponay took his officers to Canada and worked from there, and he received an indemnity from Great Britain in 1856. He had hoped to serve so well that diplomatic pressure would be brought to bear for the release of his brother from the Hungarian military prison at Arpad.

<sup>4</sup>They fell out and gave the authorities a chance to arrest and harass them, not with the idea of conviction, but to break things up and secure evidence for Marcy and Cushing. See the affidavits in 2708, 9-34. Smolenski and Lanckorowski also received British indemnities. Their authority, *J.H.P.*, XVIII, 576-578.

bounty, engraved to look like a banknote and payable in Halifax on acceptance as a recruit.<sup>1</sup> Suddenly, however, his activity was cut short by a summons to Halifax to defend his seat in the legislature. By travelling through Maine and New Brunswick he reached home on May 4 and turned swiftly to a last-minute effort to hold his voters. He failed, and was defeated by the man who was, henceforth, to surpass him as a statesman, Dr. Charles Tupper. Howe's recent activities and his outspoken criticism lost him the Irish vote.

Recruiting affairs now passed very rapidly from his control. His reports to Crampton of April 26, May 4, and perhaps May 7, convinced Crampton that he must come north to see Sir Edmund Head and to work things out directly with Le Marchant and Howe. He went first to Quebec, then back to Boston, and from there to Halifax, arriving on May 10. There are evidences that he immediately exercised his authority over Howe and that the latter quickly withdrew from the recruiting.<sup>2</sup> Three weeks later, Howe wrote formally, but "reluctantly", to Korponay and Smolenski cancelling the commissions of authority which he had granted them, copies of which he had shown to Crampton. In general, all the loose ends of the recruiting mission were being gathered in, and the whole business being centralized. In New York the faithful John Turnbull maintained his cheerfulness remarkably well, considering Howe's silence and the exhaustion of his funds. In Nova Scotia Howe himself was being cast (or was casting himself) for a new rôle, and on June 8, he sailed for England on behalf of the Nova Scotian government to sell £150,000 in provincial bonds to Baring Bros. and Company.<sup>3</sup> He went, as well, to recommend himself to the British government as a suitable servant of the crown in a higher capacity than was open to him in Nova Scotia, and he set about making known to them his recent activities in the United States. It cannot have been an entire coincidence that, on June 22, the British cabinet decided to prohibit all further recruiting in the United States.<sup>4</sup> Lord John Russell, now fully

<sup>1</sup>A specimen, *ibid.*, 575.

<sup>2</sup>E.g., three injudicious letters to agents in the United States, with their "O.H.M.S." envelopes broken and marked "withdrawn", *ibid.*, 644-648a.

<sup>3</sup>His success in this mission is reflected interestingly in Public Archives of Canada, *Baring papers*, 1855, Miscellaneous.

<sup>4</sup>The reason given was the meagre success, Russell to Le Marchant, June 22, *J.H.P.*, XXI, 230-231. It is noteworthy that Russell, having received from Le Marchant Howe's official reports, wrote on May 25, commending the work highly, but adding: "It will however be inexpedient under present circumstances that his visit



aware of the narrow margin by which Howe had escaped the consequences of his rashness, carried the government with him against gambling further in international goodwill.

### III

There remains the problem of harmonizing this odd incident with Howe's general career. As Mr. W. L. Grant has indicated, in his vivid short biography, the decade after 1850 was in several senses the climacteric of Howe's life. In 1851 he had won singly, and largely through the agency of one speech at Southampton, a great victory over British governmental apathy towards Nova Scotian railway projects and had secured a large loan. Up to that point he had enjoyed a crescendo of distinguished achievement. From then on, he was doomed to a large measure of disappointment. He was, on one side, the first great sufferer from the fact that, when a colonial had reached the highest office and power in his own colony and had the capacity to go farther, avenues of advance in British service were denied to him. In addition, Howe suffered from the geographical disadvantages of his Nova Scotia. He saw that there was worthy work for him to do in forwarding a union of the British North American colonies, but, in 1852, his hopes were dashed when differences among the colonies, over the railway which was to unite them, spoiled the whole project, and gave the British government an opportunity to withdraw its loan. A glance at the map will show why New Brunswick, then and since, enjoyed advantages over Nova Scotia where rail connection with Canada and the United States was concerned. This abrupt ending to his hardly-won success severely tried Howe in 1852, rightly made him irritated with the vacillations of the British Whigs, and made him suspicious of their relations with British railway contractors. Nevertheless, in 1854, he courageously took the chairmanship of the railway board and tried to repair imperial deficiencies by local enterprise.

In the same year came the Crimean War and the call for recruits. To a person of Howe's warm sympathies, the sufferings in the Crimea were unbearable to think of, and he strained for action to relieve them. An examination of his papers leaves no reason for doubt that, *primarily*, his sympathy and patriotism were involved, and when the chance came for him to act, he leaped at it. "So far

to the United States should be repeated and it is their [the British government's] wish that he should not be sent there again", *ibid.*, 229.

as I am concerned I am free to confess that if I could have taken five regiments out of Tartarus to back the gallant fellows who at that time had crowded the heroism of the Iliad into a single year I would have done it."<sup>1</sup> As has been seen, he spent himself unreservedly in his efforts to secure recruits in the United States, and, in the process, his impatience with red tape and the delays of correspondence led him to injudicious actions. He himself was rarely afflicted by qualms, although he clearly realized that he was a "Conspirator against the Neutrality", and he went to England armed with the confidence that he had deserved well of his Empire. He now hoped to combine reward with further public service by securing an appointment as under-secretary in the Colonial Office or as a colonial governor.

Yet ill luck still dogged him. He had embarrassed the British government in its relations with the United States, and had, almost certainly, offended the dignity of the ministers whom for twenty years now he had presumed to advise with his habitual plainness and vigour. At any rate, although he memorialized successive colonial secretaries and other influential persons for five years, and in those memorials combined a great deal of sound sense and remarkable summaries of useful information with recital of his past distinguished services, nothing was done for him, and the man from Canada whom he suspected of having thwarted his railway schemes, Francis Hincks, was given a colonial governorship.<sup>2</sup> Small wonder that this thwarted public servant became embittered, and that there began to creep out in his behaviour a cynicism and a self-interest which had, hitherto, been offset by his generous expenditure of himself and his resources. No one, who does not know his story between 1850 and 1860, is entitled to pass judgment on his later disappointing vacillations of policy towards the federation movement and towards federated Canada. One cannot but be moved by his letters to Russell, Grey, Molesworth, Derby, Newcastle, and Lytton, and by the picture of this able and distinguished man waiting in ministers' ante-rooms and writing to ministers' secretaries to ask for employment appropriate to his

<sup>1</sup>Second open letter to Van Dyke, Nov. 6, 1855, *ibid.*, XX, 58-77.

<sup>2</sup>The pathos and essential injustice of his position during these years is revealed in his correspondence, 1852-1860, *ibid.*, II, VII: the theme—"I have a very natural desire to earn distinction beyond the narrow limits of the Province in which I was born." Howe was made fishery commissioner under the Reciprocity Treaty in 1863, but he certainly earned the office by his reports on the subject, and his employment lasted only until 1866.

capacity. Most pathetic was his retirement to Boston in 1858, where he spent six months preparing the two volumes of his public letters and speeches, which, at his own expense, he sent to British statesmen as his credentials for employment and to libraries as his brief before the bar of history.<sup>1</sup>

The student of this portion of Howe's career will find plenty of materials from which to reconstruct it. Among those acts most creditable to him, if not always most judicious, was the writing of loyal public letters in support of British recruiting and the men associated with it. Mention has been made of that signed "British American", which was published in New York at the height of the excitement there. To it should be added another over his own signature to *The Globe* in London, of August 31, 1855, which quoted largely from the New York letter. Again, from Halifax on March 24, 1856, he addressed to *The Times* (London) a slashing attack on J. A. Roebuck, M.P., for his attack on Crampton in the house. Once more, when he heard of Gladstone's denunciation of British recruiting which contained slighting references to himself, he had printed in London and distributed to clubs, libraries, and members of both houses, one thousand copies of a long letter which cut through Gladstone's somewhat thin thesis and elicited from him a letter of qualified apology. Finally, when Crampton had his back against the wall at Washington, Howe not only offered to reveal enough to transfer the blame to himself, but sent to Crampton two open letters to District Attorney Van Dyke, of Philadelphia, to be used at his discretion.<sup>2</sup> Howe may have been mistaken, he may have been presumptuous, but there was no doubt of his courage and energetic loyalty, and it was a sad commentary on the gratitude of governments when, in 1858, having himself received no recognition of his services, he wrote: "Mr. Crampton has been appointed to Hanover, Mr. Mathew to Odessa and Mr. Barclay (upon whose exaggerated repre-

<sup>1</sup>"Beyond the boundaries of British America, it is not probable that this work will attract much interest, or find much circulation. Statesmen who figure in the great centres of intellectual life, whether in Europe or America, can alone be expected to command general attention", introduction, iv.

<sup>2</sup>They were very vigorous (*J.H.P.*, XX, 43-77) and Crampton "itched", as he said, to use them, but only released the first to a Boston paper, *The Anglo-Saxon*, and only for its issue of Dec. 1, 1855. Crampton refused to allow Howe to transfer blame to himself, but thanked him cordially, saying that the affair was subsiding, Nov. 10, 1855, *ibid.*, XIX, 140-148. The Gladstone letter and reply are in Chisholm, *Speeches and letters*, II, 329-347, the Roebuck letter is in *J.H.P.*, XIX, 250-251, and the letter to *The Globe*, *ibid.*, 89-92.

sentations too much stress had been laid) has received a handsome pension."<sup>1</sup>

## IV

Crampton's management of the recruiting scheme, which he took over from Howe in May and with foreign and Canadian aid remodelled, cannot be dealt with here.<sup>2</sup> There is no question but that, with Lieutenant J. W. Preston of the 76th Regiment and the scheming Strobel, he personally set it up before he returned to Washington at the beginning of June. His instructions to his agents, moreover, indicate that he still clung confidently to technical evasion of the Neutrality Act and insisted on his agents observing the precautions which Howe had invented, if not himself observed.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, Crampton and all concerned received, on May 22, an unexpected pleasant surprise, in the opinion handed down by Judge Kane of Philadelphia at a hearing of habeas corpus proceedings for Bucknall, Hertz, and Perkins. The judge dismissed Bucknall for lack of evidence and held Hertz and Perkins for trial, but he committed himself to an interpretation of the law which he was considerably to modify at the test case in September. He said:

The important words in the Bill are "hire or retain", which include mutuality of engagement. "Contract" means one having paid or engaged to pay or perform. I do not think that the payment of the passage from this country of a man who desires to enlist in a foreign port comes within the Act. In the terms of the printed proclamation [Howe's on behalf of the Nova Scotian government] there is nothing conflicting with the laws of the United States. A person may go abroad, provided the enlistment be in a foreign place, not having accepted and exercised a commission.<sup>4</sup>

In September, he exactly reversed the third of the sentences quoted. That confusing circumstance is added to the many others

<sup>1</sup>To Le Marchant, Feb. 8, 1858, *ibid.*, 351-360. Crampton was also made K.C.B. by Palmerston. I cannot find that Howe received any indemnity or reward, and Mr. Grant in his revision of Longley's biography has altered the footnote which formerly credited him with the receipt of £2000, 159.

<sup>2</sup>I am informed that the Foreign Office papers for this period are now available to students, and it would be interesting to compare what is to be found there with Howe's records.

<sup>3</sup>His instructions, 2080, 53-54.

<sup>4</sup>2080, 15-16. An original newspaper clipping containing it, *J.H.P.*, XIX, 51. The September charge to the jury, 2080, 103-5.

which were involved in the diplomatic exchanges of 1855 and 1856, among which in particular are to be noted Crampton's failure to stop recruiting until August, although orders to do so were sent to Washington, Halifax, and Quebec on June 22, 1855, and were received, at least in the latter two places; and the inexplicable failure of Minister Buchanan to communicate to the Earl of Clarendon, until November 2, Secretary Marcy's important despatch of July 15.<sup>1</sup>

These details are, however, beside the point, just as were the legal proceedings against the recruiting agents, none of whom was punished. Marcy and Cushing were under no illusions as to the ease of securing convictions under the Act of 1818.<sup>2</sup> Their real intentions were to make public the fact that Great Britain was securing recruits from the United States and to smash the recruiting apparatus. In both intentions they succeeded.<sup>3</sup> If the Neutrality Act was not effective, the executive, the district attorneys and their marshals were, and Marcy for some time had more, if less trustworthy, information on the subject than had Clarendon. Cushing summed up the real issue for him, and in the law of nations his summary stands:

If such a statute could be evaded or set at nought by elaborate contrivances to engage without enlisting, to retain without hiring, to invite without recruiting . . . . it would be idle to pass Acts of Congress for the punishment of this or any other offence . . . . whether the acts of the British minister and his agents, in recruiting troops within the United States, do or do not come within the technical provisions of the Act of Congress, is altogether immaterial to the question of international right, as between this Government and that of Great Britain.<sup>4</sup>

For the offence against international good usage, Crampton

<sup>1</sup>The question of cessation of recruiting is complicated by the fact that the order of June 22 (*J.H.P.*, XXI, 230-231) was followed by another of July 6 (*ibid.*, 232) allowing a respite until the men came down from Canada, after which it was to stop. The date of reception of this last from England must have been very close to that of Crampton's formal orders to stop in the first days of August. See Learned, *Marcy*, 254-5.

<sup>2</sup>See Marcy's admission, 2080, 140.

<sup>3</sup>Only 171 recruits had joined the legion when Howe sailed for England on June 4, *J.H.P.*, XIX, 24-30; 350 sailed on Aug. 3, *ibid.*, 69-72; in all 625 enlisted and 597 were sent to England, but many of these were recruited in Canada by regular soldiers who received £1 a head for inducing them to enlist, *ibid.*, 250, and Public Archives of Canada, series C, XXXVI, pts. 1 and 2.

<sup>4</sup>Aug. 9, 1855, 2094, 6. See also Carlisle's analysis of the test case, 2080, 195-199.

and the consuls were dismissed, and the government, whose purposes they served, quite justly compensated them for what had been its own mistake. The irony of the situation was that the most active and inventive agent, the one British citizen who spent himself generously and risked arrest and punishment in actually putting recruiting into effect, while ambassador and consuls hid behind him, was neither punished nor rewarded.<sup>1</sup>

Yet the next ten years revealed a more remarkable irony in the international behaviour of the United States and Great Britain, irony of the sort by which time draws the sting from short-lived indignation. During the Civil War, the United States found herself cast in the rôle of Great Britain during the Crimean War, and, in her embarrassment, she proceeded to surpass the British performance in reinforcing her armies from abroad.

The task of recruiting armies on the scale demanded by mere territorial considerations was a formidable one and the strain on the North soon surpassed its unaided capacity, when Lincoln's determination was faced by equal, if less well supported, determination in the South.<sup>2</sup> Just as Great Britain in 1854 turned to outside sources for men, so did the United States. Thousands of Canadians enlisted in the Northern armies. The historian of the Union armies thus summarizes the situation:

The accusation of the use of foreign mercenaries is amply supported by evidence. Most of these were simply tempted by bounties and by high wages in industry to emigrate to America, and then found their way either into wage labor or the army according to the relative monetary inducement. Yet some mercenaries were imported expressly and by official action for use in the army or at least to fill quotas. Senator Wilson asserted with some pride that Massachusetts had imported 907 men from Germany for use in four regiments.<sup>3</sup>

Even more remarkably analogous was the behaviour of John Bigelow, United States consul-general at Paris. With Seward's approval, and yet without his official authority (Seward wrote "you have *usurped* with discretion and with wisdom"), Bigelow

<sup>1</sup>It would be tedious and unprofitable to weigh here the evidence for and against breach of the Act by Crampton and the consuls. They all accepted the devices of escape presented to them by Howe, and I think only Mathew risked infringement.

<sup>2</sup>The official report on recruiting is *United States Executive Documents, First Session, Thirty-Ninth Congress, 1865-1866*, IV, no. 1, parts 1-2.

<sup>3</sup>F. A. Shannon, *The organization and administration of the Union Army, 1861-1865* (Cleveland, 1928), II, 78.

advertised for emigrants in the leading continental journals. As he looked back on his career from the twentieth century, he felt that he owed a service to history and he wrote:

This circular deserves a place in this record if for no other reason than the light it throws upon the mysterious repletion of our army during the four years of war, while it was notoriously being so fearfully depleted by fire arms, disease and desertion.<sup>1</sup>

Most spectacularly, the Union went Great Britain one better by actually using one of its war vessels (the *Kearsarge*, which destroyed the *Alabama*) to take away from Queenstown fifteen Irishmen. The United States authorities, through C. F. Adams, minister to Great Britain, managed to intercept this international kidnapping, but the incident was a startling one and a revelation of how international law shrinks in the embraces of war.

This is not the place to elaborate the events. Their character is neither unexpected nor novel and they were overshadowed by graver matters, such as the "Trent" and "Alabama" affairs.<sup>2</sup> Cicero, who invented so many of our epigrams, provided the appropriate commentary almost two thousand years ago: *Silent enim leges inter arma*.

J. BARTLET BREBNER

<sup>1</sup>John Bigelow, *Retrospections of an active life* (New York, 1909-13), I, 562-3.

<sup>2</sup>The subject is discussed in E. D. Adams, *Great Britain and the American Civil War* (London, 1925), II, 200-202, and the appropriate source materials are indicated. It is not, however, discussed in the account of Seward's secretaryship in Bemis, *American secretaries of state*, VII.



## NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

### THE FIRST PUBLISHED LIFE OF JAMES WOLFE

THE first published life of Wolfe appeared in 1760. The book is now exceedingly rare, and has entirely escaped the notice of Wolfe's modern biographers. Besides the copy in my possession, I know of only one other in Canada, *viz.*, that in the Public Archives at Ottawa. I have not been able to locate more than three copies in libraries of the United States. The title page bears the names both of London and Boston, Mass., though the work was written in England, and undoubtedly printed there.

The author's identity has excited considerable curiosity among enthusiasts on Wolfiana. Some years ago I came across a statement to the effect that J\*\*\* P\*\*\*\*\*, A.M., stood for James Penrose, though who this author might have been I have never been able to ascertain. Last year I was able to establish the falsity of this attribution and to determine the real author. In looking through the Wolfe exhibits in the McCord Museum, Montreal, I found two manuscript pages, signed by Sir John Pringle, one of which is reproduced in this article. Beneath the words "The life of General James Wolfe &c.", on one of the pages, is written the first part of the introduction as it is found in the printed book, while in a blank space above the written title are the closing lines of the "Epistle dedicatory to the Men of Kent" signed as in the book: "Your most Humble & Respectful Servant John Pringle." In the book the signature is J\*\*\* P\*\*\*\*\*.

In order to determine whether or not this handwriting was that of Sir John Pringle, a photostat copy was made through the courtesy of Miss Muir of the Museum, and sent by me to the librarian of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh, in which a large number of Pringle's manuscripts are kept. He replied: "In my judgment the handwriting and signature in the photostat are identical with the mss and specimens of Sir John Pringle's signature which we have here."

The Museum records state that Mr. McCord purchased the sheets, with other Wolfe items, from a collection made by R. Wright, author of an important life of Wolfe in 1864, which was continued by his nephew, the Rev. W. B. Wright. The preservation of these old sheets has, therefore, been the means of estab-



lishing the authorship of the biography of 1760. They are undoubtedly part of Pringle's original draft for the book which he wrote, but which, for some unknown reason, he determined to publish without signing his full name. It will be noted that by placing the letters of Pringle's name where the crosses are in

THE  
L I F E  
OF  
General *JAMES WOLFE*,  
THE  
CONQUEROR of *Canada* :  
OR, THE  
ELOGIUM of that Renowned  
H E R O,  
Attempted according to the  
RULES of ELOQUENCE.  
WITH A  
MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTION,  
*LATIN* and *ENGLISH*,  
To perpetuate his MEMORY.

---

By J \* \* \* P \* \* \* \* \* , A. M.

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*Avida est periculi virtus, et quò tendat, non quid passura sit  
cogitat : quoniam et quod passura est, gloria pars est.*  
SENECA.

---

L O N D O N. Printed 1760.

B O S T O N , N E W - E N G L A N D

Re-printed, and Sold by FOWLE and DRAPER in *Marlborough-  
street*, and by GREEN and RUSSELL in *Queen-street*.

M.DCC.LX.

J \* \* \* P \* \* \* \* \* , the name corresponds to that of John Pringle, whereas it cannot be made to correspond to that of James Penrose.

The author was a distinguished man in his day. He was born in 1707 and died in 1782, being the youngest son of Sir John Pringle, of Stitchel, Roxburghshire. He was educated at St. Andrew's and Edinburgh universities, intending to follow a commercial career. He then went to Holland, and, having been taken

a true Man of Kent. which  
is the hearty Wish of  
Gentlemen,

Your Most Humble &  
Respectful Servant

(Sir) John Pringle

THE  
L I F E

OF

General James Wolfe  
&c.

~~He sent out his Arrows & scattered them; & he shot out Lightnings & discomfited them. These are the Words of David, acknowledging in the Jubilation of a Heart full of gratitude the Power of God: when He the Lord, his Strength & Buckler, the~~

He sent out his Arrows & scattered them; & he shot out Lightnings & discomfited them. These are the Words of David, acknowledging in the Jubilation of a Heart full of gratitude the Power of God: when He the Lord, his Strength & Buckler, the

to a lecture by the celebrated physician Boerhaave, he became so interested in medicine that he abandoned business and began a medical course in the University of Leyden, where he obtained his M.D. degree in 1730. After doing post-graduate work in Paris he settled in Edinburgh. His erudition and attainments were so marked that he soon became a prominent practitioner, but he was eminent in other directions, for, in 1734, he was appointed joint-professor of metaphysics and moral philosophy in the university, lecturing once a week in the Latin language. He held this chair for eleven years. In 1742 he went as a physician to the British forces on the continent, and was later made physician-general to the army by the Duke of Cumberland. In 1745 he accompanied the duke in his Scottish campaign, and again went to the continent. In 1748, he settled in London where he was highly honoured, being made a baronet in 1766, and physician to the king in 1774. He became president of the Royal Society and did much to encourage scientific research in that learned body. Various important European scientific societies, also, made him an honorary member. In 1781, in failing health, he returned to Edinburgh, where he presented ten volumes of "Medical and physical observations", in manuscript, to the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh. As the climate did not agree with him he returned to London, where he died in 1782. He was buried in St. James's Church, Piccadilly, and, later, a monument was erected to him in Westminster Abbey. His most important work was the reform of medical treatment and sanitation in the army; he did much to combat the ravages of dysentery, and of gaol and hospital fever. His researches regarding "septic and antiseptic substances" were the forerunner of the epoch-making discoveries of the latter part of the nineteenth century, and, for them, Pringle was awarded the Copley Medal of the Royal Society.

The *Life of Wolfe* is a remarkable compilation. Its twenty-four quarto pages contain a minimum of biographical details, which are greatly overshadowed by a redundancy of extravagant panegyric in the apostrophic phraseology of the ancient Hebrew prophets. The following quotations illustrate the character of the discourse:

Hark! what Shouts of Joy rend the Sky whilst Britons cry Victory!  
The neighbouring Mountains send back the Sound! Quebec hears  
it, chilled with Horrors! the Indian Nations stand astonished!

But cease, ye unavailing Tears! Cease to flow! Ye flow without  
reason! Wolfe is not dead!

If we search the Records of History for a death like that of Wolfe shall we find one, in all Respects, so Noble?

Wolfe has acquired that Life of lasting Memory; none envy it him; He flourishes like the Balm-tree, and shall be exalted as the Cedar of Lebanon;

We feel the bright Effigies of his Glory making our Bosoms to pant, but its Beauties are not to be told; neither can we describe its Height and Depth; the Imagination wanders in a Maze, and cannot figure out the exact Measurement.

Great God! just and terrible in thy Judgments, with what an humbling blow to Humanity hast thou struck us, by the Death of our beloved General James Wolfe!

That the author was not accustomed to write in this style is evident from his dedication, in which he says:

I willingly undertook the task, unbiassed and unasked, presuming, though my abilities were far unequal to it (for an Achilles should be described by a Homer, and an Alexander painted by an Apelles), that it would meet with a favourable reception, from the novelty of the composition, rarely attempted among us, and the excellence of the object it celebrates.

That the work was not received by all the critics as the author would have wished is evident from the following. A short review in the *British Magazine*, February, 1760, refers to it as "a very florid, not to call it fustian eulogium." In the *London Magazine*, December, 1759, another critic writes: "The good design of this piece, not its eloquence, must, we think, relieve it from too harsh censure. . . . The whole may be styled a preachment rather than an ornament." With these opinions all modern readers of the book must agree. In no other work of Sir John Pringle is there found this artificial and florid manner of expression. His ordinary style is what might be expected from a serious man of science, being sober and restrained. The picturesque features of Wolfe's life and death evidently made a tremendous impression on Pringle, who, being a Scotsman, had an unusual degree of the spirit of the preacher in him, and so he tried to honour Wolfe's memory and to relieve his emotional distress by the flamboyant production, which he had the sense to publish anonymously, evidently under the secret conviction that it was scarcely worthy of his reputation.

J. C. WEBSTER

## REVIEW ARTICLE

### SOME RECENT BOOKS ON THE RELATIONS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES<sup>1</sup>

ONE of the most disquieting phenomena of to-day is the immense and increasing torrent of talk about the relations between Britain and the United States. Of the books named below, Mr. Rutherford's is fatuous; but the others are probably among the best on the subject that have appeared within the last two or three years. Yet none of them can have done much good; at least one is positively mischievous; and all are already behind the times. If only the two peoples concerned would refrain from discussing each other, even in a friendly spirit, for five years, the prospects of lasting amity between them would be much brighter than they are, and the cause of truth would be in no wise injured.

Luckily, the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW is not the place for the discussion of current political problems. Nor does it concern itself directly with the present economic and commercial state of the world, if only because no one would naturally turn to its pages for information on such matters. Consequently, a good deal in each of the five books under consideration demands little or no comment. Mr. Graham's lecture, in particular, must be treated summarily. He is a member of the Society of Friends and a Victorian Liberal, and the fundamental assumptions with which he approaches his theme, however admirable they may be, would certainly be repudiated by the vast majority of his fellow-

<sup>1</sup>*Aspects of Anglo-American relations. The historical significance of the American Revolution in the development of the British Commonwealth of Nations.* By K. CAPPER JOHNSON. *The influence of international trade upon British-American relations.* By JOHN MIDDLETON FRANKLAND. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1928. Pp. xv, 112.

*America's naval challenge.* By FREDERICK MOORE. New York: Macmillan; Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1929. Pp. 166.

*America conquers Britain.* By LUDWELL DENNY. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1930. Pp. xi, 429, xvi (index).

*America and England.* By NICHOLAS ROOSEVELT. New York: Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith. 1930. Pp. x, 254.

*Britain and America.* By JOHN W. GRAHAM. The Merttens Lecture, 1930. London: Hogarth Press. 1930. Pp. 134.

*War or peace? England and America.* By V. H. RUTHERFORD. London: Williams and Norgate. 1930. Pp. 96.

countrymen. Furthermore, while he has much to say about British and American history, he is obviously not well qualified to deal with this aspect of his subject. The tone of the book is propagandist; and while Mr. Graham's sincerity and honesty are beyond question, it is unlikely that his views will have much influence in either Britain or America.

Much the biggest and most pretentious of the works before us is Mr. Denny's. Its purpose is to prove that, for some time and especially since the Great War, Britain and the United States have been waging a deadly conflict for economic supremacy—a conflict in which Britain is losing, and must continue to lose, all along the line. Mr. Denny is determined to convince his readers that "America" is irresistible and Britain doomed. He cites vast numbers of carefully picked facts and figures; he ignores or explains away things that tell against his argument; and he was so unfortunate as to finish his book before the financial sensations of last autumn and the recent Naval Conference, the results of which have perhaps modified some of his views. Whatever its merits in the eyes of politicians or economists, the book is of small interest to the historian of to-day. To the historian of the future, it may be of some use as an expression of a certain type of American opinion. Britain in this book is the cold, cunning, and ruthless exploiter of the rest of the world, the hypocritical oppressor of the coloured races, and the insatiable vampire that drains the vitality of the Dominions. Though Mr. Denny tries to be fair and sometimes says sharp things of his own people, he cannot conceal his intense dislike of Britain and the satisfaction he derives from his belief that her day is done. He thinks that a war between Britain and the United States is quite likely to occur. We have no sympathy with those who cry "Peace, peace", when there is no peace; nor do we approve the burking of unpalatable facts: but, though Mr. Denny, to do him justice, thinks that war would "injure both nations irrevocably", we fear that a few more books like his would make it inevitable.

It is lucky that nearly everything of value in Mr. Denny's book may be learned more easily and pleasantly from the much shorter work of Mr. Nicholas Roosevelt. Mr. Roosevelt's purpose is "to appraise the relative positions of the United States and the British Empire in the world to-day." While he has "stressed the economic fundamentals", he also writes of naval rivalry, and he wisely gives some attention to "imponderables" which arise from "differences of custom and tradition." His book bears



out his assertion that his aim is to promote friendship between the two countries.

Whether it will achieve much towards that end may well be doubted. Mr. Roosevelt has an excellent knowledge of current affairs, with that capacity for quick and shrewd judgment upon them which is the mark of the first-rate journalist. But, when he tries to look far afield or beneath the surface, the defects of his equipment reveal themselves. His excursions into history are singularly unhappy. Thus, he says that Great Britain "managed to avoid armed intervention in Europe between the Napoleonic wars and 1914." "The Boer War", he states, "brought forth the first active opposition of Germany in the form of the Kaiser's celebrated telegram to President Kruger", a particularly unfortunate blunder, since that telegram was one of the causes of the war in question. Again, we are told that, at the end of the Great War, "the German fleet was sunk, the French and Italian fleets were crippled." The first part of this statement, though misleading, is defensible: but how were the French and Italian fleets "crippled"? It should be understood that Mr. Roosevelt sets a high value on the study of history: one of his chapters is headed, "If history teaches": and such statements as those just quoted are not mere *obiter dicta* but are usually of some importance in a narrative or even in an argument.

Mr. Roosevelt is on firmer ground when he is showing that the natural resources of the United States are much greater than those of Britain, or that, in the last twenty-five years, British foreign trade has been expanding much more slowly than that of America. While he states such incontestable facts with superfluous emphasis, he does not, like Mr. Denny, prance on John Bull's corpse. Indeed, he admits that Britain enjoys many abiding advantages—her preponderance in merchant shipping, her experience in finance, her acquaintance with foreign conditions, her expert diplomatic service. He relies overmuch, however, on certain familiar parrot-phrases, such as "the conservatism of the English", their "resistance to all innovations", "the caste-system" whereby they are dominated. There is no better illustration of the characteristic conservatism of Americans than their unshakable trust in such venerable *clichés*.

Mr. Roosevelt wants Britain and the United States to co-operate, and believes that they can do so. The chief menace to the maintenance of peace between them is, he thinks, the question of "freedom of the seas." He does not handle the subject very

conclusively, but he is outspoken about what his fellow-countrymen have done in the past and may be expected to do in the future. Like many others—Mr. Graham, for instance—he foresees that Britain will become the chief advocate of "freedom", while the United States will uphold the most extreme claims of belligerents as against neutrals.

To avert the disasters to which such collisions of doctrine might give rise, Mr. Roosevelt trusts largely to the Dominions, who are to be the mediators of a "working understanding" between the two Powers. "In particular", he writes, "is Canada the interpreter of the United States to England and of Britain to the United States." These are familiar words, and no one, to the best of our belief, has ever explained what they mean. Indeed, if (as Mr. Roosevelt says elsewhere) Americans do not think of Canadians as foreigners and there are no apparent differences between the two, it is hard to see why Englishmen should be more comprehensible to the latter than to the former. Still, even though Mr. Roosevelt may not think very profoundly concerning the British Empire, he does realize that it is more than a device for the enslavement and exploitation of British emigrants and the coloured peoples.

The volume entitled *Aspects of Anglo-American relations* is interesting not so much for what it contains as for what it is. Some seven years ago the Brooks-Bright Foundation was established by an American lady, Mrs. Brooks-Aten, with, we are told, "the fundamental purpose of promoting permanent friendship and understanding between Great Britain, the British Dominions, and the United States by avoiding any taint of sentimentality and dealing only in fundamental causes that are the source of real difficulties." The Foundation offers a prize each year for the two best essays written "by undergraduate students at Oxford University and at Yale University, respectively", on some aspect of the relations between the countries named. This volume contains the prize essays written by Mr. K. C. Johnson of Oxford in 1926 and by Mr. J. M. Frankland of Yale in 1927. Both essays are pleasing specimens of their kind. Mr. Johnson has naturally no difficulty in showing that the American Revolution promoted the spread of self-government and federalism in the later Empire, and that such men as Lord Durham and Sir John A. Macdonald were consciously influenced by it. He might have pointed out that it so destroyed the nerve of British politicians that they have never since been capable of governing British colonists at all.

Mr. Frankland wrote before Mr. Roosevelt, or one might have suspected that his essay was based on the latter's book. Mr. Frankland reaches the conclusion, however, that Britain and the United States are "complementary rather than competitive in trade." He argues also that political competition need not keep them apart. To him, as to Mr. Roosevelt, their chief danger is the question of the "freedom of the seas." This gives rise to an "attitude of suspicion [which] is being fostered in the two countries by interested groups who find a common language offers many opportunities for keeping distrust alive." Mr. Frankland, throughout, shows a refreshing independence of accepted formulae and a temper at once critical and tolerant.

The most ably written of the books under notice is unquestionably Mr. Moore's. It is also the one of most interest to the historian. It is true that the author cites no unpublished documents and claims no exclusive knowledge. But, in his account of the attempt of the United States to secure naval predominance, he does marshal very succinctly and clearly certain facts which few people have as yet grasped. Mr. Moore does not like the big-navy policy of his country; he thinks that the programmes of construction in 1916, 1919, and 1928 were unnecessary, wasteful, and provocative. To him the principal villains in the piece are the admirals and naval "experts" of the United States and the other countries concerned. But a very big black mark is allotted to President Wilson, who is becoming well-established as one of history's most astonishing paradoxes. There is certainly much piquancy in the spectacle of this writer of didactic notes, this lover of peace who was "too proud to fight", stepping into the shoes of Admiral Tirpitz; and it is scarcely less entertaining to hear him telling the nations of Europe that if they refused to accept the American panacea for their ailments he would build a navy which would force them all to use force no more. Incidentally, one of the most brilliant examples of the successful manipulation of the press was the concealment from the public of the naval controversy at the Paris Peace Conference.

It is easy to be contemptuous of Wilson; indeed, anyone so devoid of humour inevitably becomes comic. Mr. Moore is, perhaps, a little too hard on the poor man. In general, however, his tone is admirably fair. His descriptions of the Washington Conference of 1921 and the Geneva Conference of 1927 are excellent. No doubt there are many millions in the United States who would angrily denounce this book as unjust, for Mr. Moore

hits his fellow-countrymen hard. But he does not spare others. He employs a disturbing frankness when considering the disadvantages of Britain in her rivalry with the United States. He writes, for instance:

Finally there is this fact: Canada is defenseless against the United States. There are but five million people of British descent in all that vast territory, the other four million being mostly French in stock. The French Canadians did not offer their sons for service on the side of the Allies in the Great War and would be most unlikely to oppose by force an invasion from the United States.

Does this passage prove Mr. Moore's intimacy with Canadian conditions, or his ignorance of them?

The merits or demerits of Mr. Moore's book matter little. It is out of date. The Naval Conference in London has radically modified the problem about which he writes. Recent events have dealt even more unkindly with Mr. Denny, Mr. Roosevelt, and Mr. Frankland. There is here one of many reasons against writing elaborate books on current affairs, and a warning to any historians who are being tempted to forsake their proper task and to devote themselves to what is called "contemporary history."

W. T. WAUGH

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

*The Cambridge History of the British Empire.* Edited by J. HOLLAND ROSE, A. P. NEWTON, and E. A. BENIANS. Vol. VI. *Canada and Newfoundland.* Cambridge: The University Press. 1930. Pp. xxi, 939. (\$10 net.)

THIS is the most ambitious single volume that has ever been published in the field of Canadian history. Geographically, chronologically, and in point of the topics covered, there has been nothing akin to it. For the book undertakes to portray the development of a whole half continent, through a stretch of four centuries, and to do this with appropriate regard for the economic and cultural, as well as for the political, phases of the story.

The authorship of the volume is co-operative, as in all the other books of the various Cambridge history series. Thirty-seven contributors and three editors have had a hand in making it. The contributors include nearly all the outstanding historians interested in Canada, each of whom has provided one or more chapters on an era or a topic related to his own field of special interest. Professor W. P. M. Kennedy has assisted the editors as their advisor, and the volume discloses the value of his counsel as respects the apportionment of space as well as in the selection of the various co-authors.

The plan of associated authorship, as exemplified in this book, has both merits and defects. Foremost among its advantages is the fact that the method makes possible the treatment of each topic by a recognized specialist. Moreover, it permits the handling of the various historical epochs by writers who approach the general subject from different points of view. And it distributes the work. Thirty or forty associated authors can quickly accomplish a task that would be quite beyond the competence of a single writer. These are substantial advantages.

On the other hand, the co-operative plan has the defects of its qualities. It makes some repetition unavoidable, sometimes a good deal of it. It impairs the continuity of the narrative, and unless the editors do a good deal of interweaving, the multiple-partnership volume becomes a thing of shreds and patches. There is, also, the dilemma of securing the right contributors, and keeping each of them within his own boundaries of space and time. Making up the list must be something like forming a ministry. In this connection it is rather significant that only three French-Canadian scholars have had a hand in the present enterprise,

which would seem to be a rather slim representation in view of the large share which men of that race have had in Canadian historiography.

Taking into account the inherent difficulties of the undertaking, the present volume fulfils most reasonable expectations. It is inclusive, accurate, and up-to-date. It adheres to the recognized canons of sound historical writing, and embodies the results of the most recent researches in its various fields. Especially to be commended is the action of the editors in devoting a generous amount of space to the economic development of Canada and to the cultural interests of the people, including literature, the fine arts, and education.

The bibliography and index, moreover, deserve high praise. The bibliography is a masterpiece of its kind. Covering more than eighty pages, it is the best-arranged and most discriminating list of manuscript and printed materials on the history of Canada that has ever been published. It was compiled under the supervision of Dr. A. G. Doughty, a craftsman who stands second to none among archivists and bibliographers of to-day. The section on printed materials was especially the work of Professor R. G. Trotter. It is no disparagement of the other contributions to say that this bibliography is the best thing in the book—yet curiously enough the editors have not deigned to include the names of the compilers in the table of contents.

Among the various chapters it would be difficult, and it would probably serve no useful purpose, to attempt any appraisal of relative values. They are somewhat uneven both in substance and in style, but nearly all of them maintain a high level. Where they fall short of it, as in a few instances they do, the fault does not lie with the contributors. The limits of space have entailed such rigid condensation that in some cases the narrative is forced to become little more than a chronology—for example, in the first part of chapter IV, where a whole half century of the Anglo-French conflict in the New World has been packed into a dozen pages. Although this contribution comes from the pen of a renowned English historian it reads like the notebook of a college student who has been cramming on Parkman for his final examination. The entire history of Newfoundland, to take another example, is hammered into forty pages. Where events are forced to tread so closely on one another's heels there is obviously no chance for interpretation or comment.

If the reviewer were to venture one general criticism of the book it would be this: that both the plan and the performance have been approached from a too imperialistic and Anglo-Canadian point of view. Thus the story of the Durham mission is told in rather elaborate detail, more space being devoted to it than to the settlement of the western prairies during the entire half century from Confederation to the World



War. French Canada likewise is given less than her due share of attention throughout the volume. And as for the United States, one would hardly gain from this book any adequate idea of the extent to which the republic has been influencing so many phases of Canadian life, including politics, journalism, education, tariff policy, and the growth of population. Canada's relations with the Empire receive a whole chapter, and properly so; but relations with the United States (which have provided important issues at several Canadian general elections, including the last one) receive no chapter, nor even half a chapter.

But, after all, the shortcomings of the book do not seriously impair its general excellence. Its value as an authoritative work for convenient reference is beyond question.

WILLIAM BENNETT MUNRO

*The Dominions and Diplomacy: The Canadian Contribution.* By A. GORDON DEWEY. London: Longmans, Green and Company. 1929. Two volumes. Pp. xv, 375; 397.

To many observers the appearance of the British dominions in world politics at the close of the Great War seemed to mark a new era—new not only in degree but in kind. Unfamiliar with the organic growth which made the same historic principles and aptitudes inevitable in the larger field, many have tried to trace there a sort of antithesis to the traditions of the last century, as though the British Commonwealth were as new as its name, and as though a sort of third British Empire had been born over night.

These two elaborate volumes are a protest against what Mr. Dewey has called the excessive "inwardness" of the "Britannic question"—the pre-occupation with the constitutional issues of the nineteenth century at the expense of the external relations now pressing for solution. Mr. Dewey begins with an attempt to distinguish various schools of thought—imperialists, co-operationists, nationalists, separationists, colonialists, and so on—who have interested themselves in the "Britannic question" in recent years. In two large volumes of nearly eight hundred pages the fortunes of this "Britannic question" have been traced in terms of these schools of thought, from the imperial federation movements of last century to the Imperial Conference of 1926. For evidence Mr. Dewey has relied chiefly upon the proceedings of the Colonial and Imperial Conferences, upon parliamentary and sessional papers, upon parliamentary debates and collected speeches, and to a less degree upon contemporary journals and other secondary sources. While the texture, so to speak, of the theme is not uniform and the title *The dominions and diplomacy*, therefore, somewhat misleading, the reader will find charac-

teristic citations at all the chief stages of development during the last thirty-five years. There is a chapter on "Imperial federation" from Chamberlain's scheme of 1897 to the abortive scheme of Sir Joseph Ward in 1911; chapters on "Commercial treaties and local political questions", on "The conduct of high policy and defence prior to the war", on "The organization of the British Commonwealth" during and since the war, on "Imperial foreign policy—The Versailles settlement", on "The conduct of high policy since the war—the period of co-operation", on "The Nationalist régime in Canada and its influence", on "The latest phase" of the Geneva Protocol, Locarno, and the Imperial Conference of 1926, and on "The future of the Commonwealth".

The range of discussion is so vast that "the author [we read] has virtually confined his attention to the pronouncements of the official spokesmen of the several governments and of recognized party leaders." Their speeches are quoted, sometimes *in extenso*. It is not hard to detect from the accompanying commentaries where the sympathies of the author are to be found: and though they are not always expressed with complete objectivity, his goodwill towards the British Commonwealth, his concern as a Canadian living in the United States, for its future, are self-evident. The author has aimed "to include ample material upon which the reader may base his own judgments", and prolixity itself may be a virtue. In setting out the authentic lines of printed proceedings, much which lurks between the lines has been left to conjecture, and the conjecture has not always been happy. Nor is the record complete: it could scarcely be so at the present stage. The general reader, however, will not be disposed to cavil at details. Nowhere perhaps has there been gathered together such a compendium of opinion on the "Britannic question."

The chief criticisms which may be directed against these volumes belong to another order. Mr. Dewey has traced the problem not as an organic development in the vital history of Canada, but as a series of contests between "nationalism", "imperialism", "colonialism", and half-a-dozen other *-isms* which recur with exasperating prolixity at every stage of the discussion, almost as though these abstractions were chemical reagents contending for mastery in a test-tube. The best corrective for this is the evidence of the facts, for Mr. Dewey finds that Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the prophet of "nationalism", sided on occasion with "co-operationists" and "imperialists". Sir Joseph Ward with all his ardour for "imperialism" to the point of "racialism", is also found to be a "nationalist" in practice—or, at any rate, "mingled Nationalism with his Imperialism" (I, 179). Even Chamberlain's redoubtable "imperialism", when brought home to British interests, is "nationalistic" too.

Mr. J. S. Ewart, so far as one can see, is never charged with "Imperialism", but there is not one major figure in the picture who in the last analysis is not a "nationalist" with regard to his own country. The truth is that whatever the theorist may dream or the jurist prescribe, the actual development has been presided over by men of pragmatic temper in a method thoroughly empirical, and that explains why the process has been so inexorably steady. Even Mr. Dewey, who suggests (I, 87) that the conclusive decisions of 1911 were due to a sort of unholy combination of "colonialism and nationalism", seems surprised to find that despite the "inwardness" which he deplores in the pre-war period, the post-war developments were all built upon the old foundations. It was through no perversity of human nature that Asquith, Laurier, and Botha, confronting their respective domestic problems in 1911, met Sir Joseph Ward's fantastic schemes with a tolerant *non-possumus*. It is now seen that they, rather than the theorists and the jurists, have been steering by the pole star.

The reasons for this are not to be found in Mr. Dewey's pages, and perhaps it is one of the gravest defects both of his method and of his materials. What happened at these conferences may be determined by this sort of evidence, but why and how it happened would seem to require a subtler analysis. By methods more truly historical the key might perhaps be found in that very nineteenth-century "inwardness" which Mr. Dewey deplores. In February, 1848, Lord Stanley would have instructed Sir John Harvey to install an executive council of his own choosing in the old Province Building of Nova Scotia. Grey instructed him, instead, to call upon Uniacke to "form a government", as we say, of men responsible to the assembly and enjoying their confidence. From this first concession of "responsible government" overseas dates a prodigious process which has continued unbroken to the present time. It is true that the interests of the colonies were as yet petty and local in 1848, but as these interests expanded and finally crossed irretraceably the boundaries of provinces and Dominions into world politics, the same stringent responsibility was exacted; and control over the executive forced in the end the control over everything else. The process could be illustrated by a hundred instances; and to expect to reverse it by any sort of imperial council, with executive functions, responsible to nobody, would have been to "see the streams turn back upon their fountains." If Laurier's party or Botha's or Asquith's failed to hold them responsible their opponents could be relied upon to do so. The aspersions which Mr. Dewey casts upon the *bona fides* of this plea of ministerial responsibility are unworthy of the subject.

In truth more than one astonishing passage in these voluminous pages

would lead one to doubt Mr. Dewey's insight into the whole historic process of "responsible government", as it is known in Canada. In England it was not, as the author states, "a cardinal principle of British political science, developed during the 'grand and glorious revolution'" (I, 117). Nor was it in Canada by the action of Elgin and the British parliament in the Rebellion Losses Bill that "the grant of full autonomy in domestic affairs to British North America was definitely recognized." Elgin's action had to do not with executive responsibility at all but with legislative functions of reservation which long survived Lord Elgin's day in Canada.

The only feasible alternative to purely consultative conferences has been a discerning federation for certain specific functions of defence and foreign policy, or, at any rate, the association of the British nations, as in the covenant of the League of Nations, under specific parliamentary sanctions. The first has now been abandoned even by its exponents of the Round Table groups; though in directness, in courage, and in frankness, the Round Table movement was perhaps the most heroic attempt since the American Revolution to centralize the Empire. The unity which now exists belongs to another order, a much subtler and profounder thing, dependent not at all upon the mechanics of government, but upon the likelihood that nations with so much in common may prove very useful and stimulating to each other in the welter of world politics upon which all of them, willy-nilly, are now embarked. This outcome of the "Britannic question" Mr. Dewey accepts with a measure of philosophical resignation. A less mechanical approach might have warranted a more assured faith in the future of the Commonwealth.

There is a useful bibliographical note—though very fragmentary for secondary material—and an excellent index of thirty-one pages.

CHESTER MARTIN

*The Introduction of Printing into Canada: A Brief History.* By ÆGIDIUS FAUTEUX. In six parts. Montreal: Rolland Paper Company. [1929-30.] Pp. 38, 22, 26, 26, 29, 36.

MR. ÆGIDIUS FAUTEUX, the learned and genial librarian of the Sulpician Library in Montreal, has long been recognized as one of the foremost authorities on Canadian bibliography; and the bibliography of early printed Canadian books, on which it is known that he has been for some time engaged, has been eagerly awaited. The six pamphlets or chapters which are here under review are not, it is true, the work for which we have been waiting. But they are a foretaste of what we have to expect. At the request of the Rolland Paper Company of Montreal, a company which has had the happy idea of publishing these essays "in the interests

of the printing craft", Mr. Fauteux has prepared a survey of the beginnings of printing in Canada which embodies a good deal of the results of his researches.

There has been hitherto in print no satisfactory history of early Canadian printing or—what is tantamount to the same thing—early Canadian journalism. What has found its way into print has been mostly fragmentary, and often erroneous. The book which William Kingsford pronounced in his *Canadian archæology* in 1886 to be the first published in Upper Canada (outside the sphere of government documents), was confessed by him in his *Early bibliography of Ontario* in 1892 to be more probably the fifty-first, and now appears to be perhaps the one hundred and fifty-first. There are few phases of Canadian history wrapped in a deeper fog than the beginnings of printing and of journalism—largely because the products of the early printing presses have been allowed so largely to disappear. This fog Mr. Fauteux, in the essays now published, has done a great deal to dissipate. He has traced the history of many of the early printers with a wealth of detail which must have involved prolonged research; and he brings to light not a few publications the existence of which was not known to bibliographers. About some of these, it is true, one would be glad to have more information. One is amazed to learn that there was published in 1818 in the town of Sandwich, Upper Canada, a *Letter to Lord Selkirk*, by Daniel Mackenzie, for (so far as the present reviewer is aware) there was no printing press in Sandwich until a much later date; and one is skeptically curious about the newspaper which Mr. Fauteux says was published in St. Catharines, Upper Canada, in 1817. But Mr. Fauteux's knowledge of his subject is so thorough and so exact that one hesitates to call in question any of his statements, no matter how erroneous they may appear.

These essays, which describe the beginnings of printed literature not only in the Maritime Provinces, Quebec, and Ontario, but also in the west, are one of the most important contributions made in recent years to the cultural history of Canada; and they rouse great expectations in regard to the more elaborate work of which they are the harbinger. It must be added that they are couched in English so nervous, so vivid, and so idiomatic that many a writer who has learnt English at his mother's knee might envy it.

W. S. WALLACE

*Une épopée canadienne.* Par CHARLES de LA RONCIÈRE. Paris: La Renaissance du Livre. 1930. Pp. 255.

THIS interesting volume by the author of the well-known *Histoire de la marine française* belongs to a popular collection published under the

general title of "La grande légende de la mer." This explains at once the purpose and the method of the book under review. The aim was to produce a thoroughly readable book, based on reliable authorities in the form of documentary or contemporary publications or historical productions of good standing. Of course, no references are given, but there is a good bibliography for each chapter.

Under the title of "A Canadian epic", what the reader will find is the wonderful story of the Le Moyne family. The founder, Charles Le Moyne, was the father of eleven sons, all of whom served brilliantly in war and peace, the greatest of them being Pierre Le Moyne, Sieur d'Iberville, the hero of so many land and sea campaigns, and Jean Baptiste Le Moyne, Sieur de Bienville, the ruler of Louisiana. The story is not complete. M. de la Roncière has preferred to be entertaining rather than exhaustive. So he has chosen the best pages in the story of the family. Nor is he tied down by chronology or logic. He selects his chapters without any special order, and does not limit himself to strictly relevant matters.

Such being its character, the volume cannot be submitted to strict historical criticism. Yet, one must mention a certain lack of historical perspective and background, which impairs its usefulness. Especially, several slips must be noted. M. de la Roncière has repeated the unsupported tale of Dollard and his companions making their wills and pledging their lives for the salvation of the colony (p. 13). Later, he locates the Long Sault fight at the Saut des Chaudières (p. 14); brings to Quebec, Mme de Frontenac, who never came to Canada (p. 29); and speaks of the *conseil souverain*, in 1658, though it was only created in 1663 (p. 58). It is rather surprising to find La Hontan quoted as an authority on Louisiana Indians. One might point out, also, that the list of illustrations is out of order, and the paging all wrong.

In spite of its limited scope, however, the book makes interesting reading, thanks to its style and to the wealth of historical incidents and little-known facts interspersed throughout its pages.

GUSTAVE LANCTOT

*La Vie de Bougainville.* By JEAN DORSENNE. Paris: Librairie Gallimard. 1930. Pp. 261.

*Bougainville et ses Compagnons.* By JEAN LEFRANC. Paris: Albin-Michel. 1929. Pp. 255.

BOUGAINVILLE, who had already won fame as the youthful companion of Montcalm, made himself still more famous in his later life as a circumnavigator. It was to be expected that, on the event of the two hundredth anniversary of his birth, in 1929, he would fall again a prey to bio-



graphers, and, indeed, nearly half-a-dozen publications have been brought out by the occasion, in France and elsewhere. Unfortunately, as usual, the quality has proved less satisfying than the quantity. To speak only of the two above-mentioned books, it is not very easy to see what they add to the glory of Bougainville. Mr. Jean Dorsenne's is particularly disappointing. It is, with less brilliancy, a biography after the manner of André Maurois and Emil Ludwig, one of those baffling and nerve-racking biographies which do not belong to serious history and have the sole object of pleasing an ephemeral reader. The information is purely second-hand and, too often, badly digested. When, for instance, Mr. Dorsenne makes Bougainville, as lieutenant-general, engage near Fort Duquesne in a hitherto unknown battle in which six thousand of the English enemy were killed, or, a few pages later, when he blandly informs us that Wolfe and Montcalm died together at the Battle of Carillon, it is much more than we can suffer even in a "new biography."

Mr. Lefranc's book is of a better grade and could not be so peremptorily dismissed. In the cursory view of Bougainville's Canadian career which is contained in one of the opening chapters, we still stumble here and there against a few surprising blunders which betray the amateur historian, notably (p. 29) when our hero is heralded as the general commander of the Languedoc regiment. But the main part of the book, which is specially devoted to Bougainville's companions on the sea, is pleasant reading. Written in a perfunctory manner, to suit a circumstance, it has no particular value for the historian of a scholarly sort who seeks only the objective truth, but it may be useful to the general reader. Before closing, let us express a regret that Mr. Lefranc did not pay greater attention to Bougainville's Canadian companions. In his too short account of the first expedition to the Isles Malouines, to-day the Falkland Islands, he does not even mention the name of Denys de St-Simon, a Canadian of singular merit who would have deserved a chapter by himself for his picturesqueness as well as for his usefulness in the expedition. Even in his voyage of circumnavigation, Bougainville had some Canadians with him. Mr. Lefranc may not necessarily be blamed for having ignored it, but the fact remains that there is still room for another book, besides his own, on Bougainville's companions, and it is our hope that it will one of these days be attempted by a Canadian pen.

ÆGIDIUS FAUTEUX

*Wolfe and the Artists: A Study of his Portraiture.* By J. CLARENCE WEBSTER. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1930. Pp. 74.

UNDER the title of *Wolfe and the Artists* Dr. Webster has produced a delightful little book. It brings together many facts hitherto unknown regarding the youthful commander of the expedition to Quebec in 1759. While many historians have been willing to concede that the victory of Quebec led to momentous events, and changed the history of Europe, they have failed to recognize any particular genius in the man who made victory possible. His achievement, they consider, was either a stroke of good fortune or the advantage that he had of being associated with men of real naval or military merit. Thus, as late as 1903, a distinguished professor writing in the *Edinburgh Review* refers to Wolfe as "the victor in one petty skirmish", who had "the singular advantage of being associated with an admiral of a very high degree of merit." A tablet has been erected recently in Westminster Abbey in memory of this admiral of "a very high degree of merit", but history is silent regarding the admiral who ensured the successful passage of the ships to Quebec. No credit is given to Wolfe for his tactics at Quebec. In fact, according to the writer mentioned, the battle was won not by any tactical skill, but by the steadiness of the men under fire. As one volley only was fired at the battle, the troops had no opportunity to prove their steadiness.

Wolfe and his campaigns have been curiously misrepresented in history and in art, and hence students for the last century have found the siege of Quebec and the Battle of the Plains absorbing topics. The quest for historical material on the subject has been keen; volumes have been written about the last words of Wolfe. We know now that, from the time he fell until his death a few moments later, he was silent. In a volume devoted to Wolfe's second brigadier, we learn that "it is no disparagement to his glorious memory that he [Wolfe] carried out the plan of his brigadiers." We know now that thirteen hours before Wolfe's death the brigadiers were in ignorance of Wolfe's plan, and even of the place or places he intended to attack. In answer to their demand for particulars, they were informed by Wolfe that it was not their business to ask questions. Wolfe kept his own counsel throughout the siege much to the annoyance of the principal officers of the expedition. James Gibson wrote to Governor Lawrence on August 1, 1759: "Every step he takes is wholly his own. I am told he asks no one's opinion and wants no advice and therefore, as he conducts without assistance the honour or—will be in proportion to his success." No clear account of the siege of Quebec is possible without an intimate knowledge of the ground. The late Lord Roberts and the late Lord Minto acknowledged that they had never understood Wolfe's tactics until they had been over the

ground. They then realized that any one in command of the position occupied by Wolfe was master of Quebec. The Chevalier de Lévis recognized the importance of Wolfe's position when he occupied it in the following spring. His opponent, Murray, suffered the same fate as Montcalm. Something more than a knowledge of the ground is necessary, namely, the documents which tell one exactly what was done. Curiously enough these documents defied the light for a long time. The study of them shows that the final attack was carefully planned and that it worked out exactly as Wolfe hoped. By keeping the French army occupied at Beauport and also between Cap Rouge and Pointe aux Trembles, Wolfe had eight or ten miles of the north shore practically to himself, and the whole of his army placed exactly where he wanted it at least three hours before the French governor and the military commanders knew that he had gained the heights. From this advantageous position he did not move, but awaited the French army.

The misrepresentation of the scene of the battle began early; one month after, a view of the glorious battle before the town was published in London. On either side of a narrow stream with a broad, flat shore, troops are drawn up and medieval castles and towers are shown as split in half by shells. This is probably the first view of Quebec given to the British public. A more accurate view of the city was published in Philadelphia during the siege, but it is not probable that it had reached London.

The first statue of Wolfe in Canada appears to have been carved in wood by the brothers Chollette in 1771, the gift of a loyal butcher rejoicing in the name of Hipps. It was placed in a niche of a building at the corner of St. John and Palace Streets in Quebec. In 1838, it seems to have amused the sailors who were in port, and they carried the statue away with them, first to Halifax, then to Bermuda, and lastly to Portsmouth. Many years later, fresh in a new coat of paint, the model was returned to the mayor of Quebec and set up in its former niche. Towards the end of the last century it disappeared and was discovered in an outbuilding in St. John Street. It was again painted and it now stands over the doorway at the corner of St. John and Palace Streets. The first proposal to erect a monument to Wolfe in Quebec is referred to by Samuel Holland in December, 1759, but a statue was erected in the same year in New York. It was, undoubtedly, the first set up in honour of Wolfe and was due to the exertions of Lord Sterling. In the *New York Mercury* of July 12, 1762, there is an advertisement offering tickets for sale at the house of the widow Alstine for an exhibition of a model in a glass case of a monument to Wolfe. An obelisk to the memory of Wolfe and others was set up on the property of Delancy at Greenwich village,

now the Bohemia of New York. It is shown on a map that was published in 1766. It was removed by Delancy just before the Revolution. The foundation stone of the joint monument to Wolfe and Montcalm at Quebec was laid by Lord Dalhousie in November, 1827, and the column to the memory of Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham was unveiled in 1832. Lately the original water colour sketch by Hervey Smith for the Schaak picture, and an original painting by Romney have been discovered. It is exceedingly valuable for a study of the portraiture of Wolfe; and perhaps the best model for a statue of Wolfe is that delightful piece of work by the Countess Gleichen.

Dr. Webster has done most valuable work in this field; he is an authority on Wolfe, and the recognition of this fact should be sufficient to induce him to complete his story in the manner suggested.

A. G. DOUGHTY

*Johnson of the Mohawks: A Biography of Sir William Johnson, Irish Immigrant, Mohawk War Chief, American Soldier, Empire Builder.*

By ARTHUR POUND in collaboration with RICHARD E. DAY. New York: Macmillan; Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1930. Pp. xvii, 556.

ALTHOUGH the heading printed above corresponds with the title page, the cover and the jacket ascribe the authorship of this book to Mr. Pound alone. It may be legitimate, therefore, to assume that the basic facts, the interesting addenda, the notes, the maps, and the illustrations are to be credited to Dr. Day, whose scholarship has been responsible for the six valuable volumes of *The Sir William Johnson papers* already published. If this assumption be correct, grateful appreciation is due him for the ten admirable portraits of Sir William here reproduced, for the notes upon them, and for the score of other pictures. Notwithstanding these merits, the book cannot be regarded as the definitive life, even though the author holds Sir William to have been the greatest man produced in, or by, his country before Washington. Indeed, Mr. Pound seems, in the comparison he draws, almost to eliminate Washington, upon whom he passes some very outspoken criticism.

In spite of himself, perhaps, Mr. Pound mentions too often the "revolutionary war" before he arrives at the year 1765, the earliest date at which it can legitimately find a place in his story. In discussing the Revolution, Mr. Pound correctly gives his readers to understand that Sir William was far from favouring independence. Strangely enough, however, there is no mention of one serious difficulty which the Revolution created for Sir William in the discharge of his highly onerous duties as Indian superintendent for the northern colonies: the interference,

due to the enforcement of the policy of non-intercourse with the mother country, with the supply of presents which he needed in dealing with the tribes; but over that difficulty he triumphed, as he did over many another. Incidentally, the mistaken impression is conveyed that the superintendency extended to the southern colonies.

Generally speaking, a satisfactory account of the discharge of the duties of the superintendency in the face of civilian and military interference is given, but the fact that the organization built up became the possession of the British North American provinces, before and after the formation of the Dominion, is not indicated. A comparison between the United States and Canada, which is favourable to the latter, is given with respect to treatment of the Indians. Discussion of Sir William's acquisitions of land from them, whether in his personal or in his official character, leaves, however, something to be desired. An interesting point is Mr. Pound's assertion that Sir William's recognition of the Chippawas as head of the Ottawa confederacy was a contributory cause of Pontiac's War in 1763.

It is doubtful if anybody not already acquainted with the baronet's military exploits would obtain from the book a clear, adequate idea of them. Three in number—at Lake George, Niagara, and Montreal—they found representation on the coat of arms granted to him. In connection with the quarterings of the shield and the Indian supporters, one wonders just what are the implications of Mr. Pound's remark: "When his position required a coat of arms he carefully placed two lusty red men thereon, in open recognition of the foundation of his fortunes." Trade with the Indians, superintendence for twenty years or more, and command of them in war are all to be taken into account, as well, perhaps, as the fact that two Indian women bore him children.

The most unsatisfactory portions of the book are those dealing with Mlle Curie, Catherine Weissenburg, Caroline—Hendrick's daughter—Molly Brant, and her brother Joseph. The descriptions of them are characterized by all the unloveliness of the "movies", the new psychology, the new biography, and the new journalism, interspersed with slang. Instead of solid fact, mere conjecture, "valley tradition" with its accretions of nearly two hundred years, and unwarrantable inferences from "silence" in letters fill up an entirely disproportionate number of pages.

The English common law, which, after the conquest of New Netherlands by England, determined the status of children in the province of New York, and their capacity to inherit property, not to speak of hereditary titles, does not provide for the legitimizing of the offspring of unwedded parents by a subsequent marriage, unless a statute with that intent is passed. Such a statute was never passed by the legislature of

the province. Accordingly, if Sir William's son, Sir John, had been illegitimate, or even legitimized, he could not have succeeded to his father's baronetcy. Presumably, also, his sisters, Mrs. Claus and Mrs. Guy Johnson, were born in wedlock. Therefore, Mr. Pound, who is not the first author to have run into error through forgetting to consult the statute book, will have to blot out from his next edition all that he has said about a deathbed marriage of Sir William to Catherine Weissenburg, whom he has treated with almost as little delicacy as did Parkman, whom he contemns. He will do well also to remove the highly melodramatic sermon which he puts into the mouth of "Clio" on pages 133-134. It is one which no self-respecting clergyman of the Church of England, such as was Henry Barclay, would have dreamed of delivering in the eighteenth, or in the twentieth, century to a man in the purely supposititious circumstances of William Johnson, trader.

In addition to the eliminations just referred to, chapter VIII, "A break with the family", which is built up in large part upon this apparently unfounded assumption of the illicit character of the young trader's cohabitation with Catherine Weissenburg, will have to be recast. In any event, eighteenth century society in the British Isles and on the continent of Europe was by no means unfamiliar with such irregularities, as witness Goethe, George I, and George II, to cite only a few notable instances. Johnson's non-communication with his father over a period of years can easily be matched with many other cases of a similar kind in all the centuries of the modern world. Moreover, the diligent application of the man to building up a business, which would have suffered serious detriment from the prolonged absence which a visit to Ireland would have entailed, furnishes reason enough, on Mr. Pound's own showing, for the failure to make such a visit. Finally, the kindness of Johnson to the sister and the nephew who migrated to America shows that family ties were a reality to him, whereas his sending his portrait to his father may fairly be interpreted as a sign of filial affection.

Considering the numerous letters which were exchanged between Sir William and various clergymen of the Church of England, the meagre references to them are surprising. John Ogilvie, who, by the way, never became a rector of Trinity Church, New York, deserves a larger place in the story than is assigned to him simply as a witness to the devastating effect of strong drink upon the Indians. So, too, with Thomas Barton and that capable civil secretary, Richard Peters, to both of whom Sir William expressed himself on affairs of personal and public concern other than the education of his son, William, and the settlement of the Penns's claims to Indian lands. Far more important than Richard Moseley, who is honoured with a paragraph on page 447, were Samuel Johnson of



King's College, New York, whose *Life* has just been published, William Smith, first provost of the College of Philadelphia, Samuel Auchmuty, of Trinity Church, New York, Charles Inglis, first bishop of Nova Scotia, and Thomas B. Chandler, who, if his health had permitted him to accept it, would have received this preferment. They are all lumped together in a single sentence and John Stuart, of Fort Hunter and later of Kingston, is not mentioned at all. Parsons such as Barclay, Ogilvie, and Stuart, Sir William preferred to ministers of other communions as missionaries among the Indians, for the latter, he held, tended to make them less joyous, if not morose and untrustworthy. The Church of England itself, to judge from his letters, he regarded as the bulwark of the constitution and as the true preventive against democracy and against tendencies toward independence.

In his text Mr. Pound criticizes somewhat severely his predecessors, Buell, Stone, and, of course, Parkman. The first of these, he grants, breathes the spirit of Sir William's times, which his own book can hardly be said to do. The second, he admits, was careful to reproduce faithfully those letters which are still extant. Hence, he concludes that he is to be trusted as regards those which have perished by fire. But it cannot be truthfully asserted that *Johnson of the Mohawks* supersedes either of these earlier works. It closes with the significant paragraph, which seems to reveal its true purpose: "The Revolution could proceed; America could proceed. The gate-keeper of the Mohawk had fought off the French, and tamed the Indians; and now since he was dead, the gate to the West stood open."

A. H. YOUNG

*The Spell of Acadia.* By FRANK OLIVER CALL. Boston: L. C. Page. 1930. Pp. x, 427.

EXCEPT for the Magdalen Islands, the author has seen the ancient land of Acadie with his own eyes. He has travelled through New Brunswick, he has crossed the Bay of Fundy, and he has pilgrimaged through Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, and Prince Edward Island. What he has seen he praises in due measure. He did not journey to the "Madeleines." For them he takes the word of a certain Ralph Gustafson, and prints this writer's account *verbatim* as chapter XI.

On the foundation of his personal impressions, thus gained, and of descriptions of the Acadian scene, Professor Call builds up his "spell" from three centuries of history. Once again the old familiar tales are told for the new audience—the tragedy of Madame Latour, the expulsion of the Acadians, the two sieges of Louisbourg, the coming of the Loyalists. The narrative is reinforced continually by liberal extracts from original

documents, by passages from Gyles, Pote, Winslow, Casgrain, Lescarbot, Haliburton, Longfellow, Herbin. Old Fort Anne yielded many memories of the olden days, but not all; for the traveller has no word of heroic Paul Mascarene and the sieges he sustained in that same *enceinte*. But Acadie is so rich in history that even the earnest and well-informed traveller cannot evoke it all in a single tour. For instance, a man may traverse all the four hundred miles between Cape Sable and Cape North and never know that here were built whole fleets of ships, which were known in every port of the world.

The volume is a good popular guide book, not a serious historical work, and painful accuracy is not to be looked for. A few errors should, however, be noted. The strength of the works at Annapolis is modern; the present fort has been greatly altered and extended since 1704. There are errors in the French quotations: on page 117, *en dit* should be *et dit*; *fréquerente* should be *fréquent*; and, on page 118, *maigre* does not make sense—surely it should be *malgré*. One would like to know where the original of the "Diary of a French prisoner" (p. 200) is to be found. The particulars of Charnisay's fate (p. 207) are known. He died as a result of his canoe upsetting in the Annapolis River. St. Paul's Church was not begun in 1748 (p. 398), for Halifax was not founded till 1749. The story (p. 399) about Prince William's variations on the proper responses to the commandments is told of another royal duke. Nelson never worshipped in St. Paul's, for he never was in the city. The commander who captured Washington, Major-General Robert Ross, is not buried in the church, but in St. Paul's churchyard. *Rise and fall of the Roman Empire* (p. 171) is not the exact title of Gibbon's monumental history.

ARCHIBALD MACMECHAN

*History of Alaska.* By HENRY W. CLARK. New York: Macmillan; Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1930. Pp. x, 208.

THIS book does not measure up to the author's claim that it "is a history of Alaska and not an attempt at the history." Were it not for the errors that mar many pages, it might, possibly, pass muster as a guide book. It lacks perspective, completeness, accuracy, and impartiality.

The treatment of the subject is topical, under the headings of geography and climate, ethnology, discovery and exploration, Russian occupation, the purchase of Alaska, neglect, the "rush" era, international complications, territorial government, social and intellectual growth, economic development, and modern Alaska.

Perhaps the most disappointing chapters are those on discovery and exploration and the Russian occupation. The former covers thirteen

pages, of which five relate to Bering's voyages; into the remaining eight pages are crowded all the other discoverers and explorers. After disposing of the Spanish discoverers in seven lines, the author dismisses the great Captain James Cook with eight lines; La Perouse fares still worse—he gets one line; Meares, Portlock, and Dixon divide four lines amongst them; whilst Vancouver, who spent one season and part of another in exploring and surveying the Alaskan coast and made its first charts, is allotted six lines. Yet space is found for the names of Frobisher, Davis, Hudson, and others who were never within a thousand miles of Alaska. Even de Fonte and de Fuca, whose alleged voyages have long since been relegated to the limbo of departed myths, find places as discoverers.

No effort has been made towards accuracy, either in names or dates: Beechey becomes "Beechy"; Quadra is "Bodega Quadra" and is styled "the best known explorer" (p. 46); the Hudson's Bay Company is invariably the "Hudson Bay Company"; Louis XVI is called "Louis XIV"—the Grand Monarch. Vancouver did not revisit Alaska in 1791 (p. 45), but in 1793 and 1794, and he and Bodega y Quadra were never together "in the region", but at Nootka Sound, hundreds of miles to the southward; Captain Gray discovered the Columbia River in May, 1792, and not in 1798 (p. 46). But the gem of the chapter is to be found on page 48:

John Jacob Astor had established a company at Astoria in 1811. This became the Northwest Company in 1813 and the Hudson Bay Company in 1821. Astoria, because of this settlement, became an outfitting outpost of the northwest traders.

The chapter on Russian occupation is also filled with errors. The English made no attempt to establish a post at Wrangel in 1802 (p. 54), and hence could not have been, and were not, ejected in 1811; the first post built by them in that vicinity was Fort Simpson, or Nasse as originally named, in May, 1831. Probably the refusal of the Hudson's Bay Company to purchase Fort Ross, the Russian post in California, was based not on fear of "the displeasure of California and the United States" (p. 55), but on the absence of title coupled with the fact that they were already trading in that vicinity; when the company thought the time ripe, they built, and for years maintained, a post at Yerba Buena (San Francisco). The prevention of Ogden's effort on the Stikine (not "Stickine") River was in 1834, and not in 1802 as stated on page 57. The conduct of the Russians on that occasion was in contravention of Article VI of the treaty of 1825. The Russians did not build at the mouth of the Stikine "to hold the territory"; it was theirs without "holding." But it would be ungracious to continue to point out the errors.

The story of the Alaskan purchase and the charges of bribery in connection therewith is well told—a dark page of history. Considerable

space is devoted to the Klondike gold excitement, which, however, occurred in Canadian territory. The discussion of the Bering Sea arbitration and the Alaskan boundary question leaves much to be desired. The issues involved are not stated and the results are loosely indicated. Both subjects are treated more in a journalistic, than in an impartial, historical manner. The following quotation shows the method and style:

In regard to Glacier Bay, the boundary was originally measured twelve miles inland from the east of the glaciers of 1894 so as to get a direct line to Mt. Fairweather. By August 1, 1912, the glaciers had receded so that Canada had a harbor at this point. The only difficulty is that the harbor lies in the midst of a snowy desert and cannot be reached except by way of American waters. It is probable that Canada will lose this harbor in the future when the glaciers fill again, but at the present time she is breaking the spirit of the treaty award, which was to block off Canada from any port in the Pacific north of 54° 40'.

Comment is needless.

This reviewer is heartily in accord with the concluding sentence of the author's preface:

It is my fond hope that some day I will be able to delve further into the subject by exhausting the possibilities of the Pacific Coast libraries.

The volume is well printed and contains some twenty fine illustrations and six maps. There is also a good working index.

F. W. HOWAY

*Greenland.* Edited by M. VAHL, *et al.* Volume III: *The Colonization of Greenland and its History until 1929.* (Published by the Commission for the Direction of the Geological and Geographical Investigations in Greenland.) London: Milford. 1929. Pp. 468.

THIS is a collection of papers, by eleven authors, on the commerce, administration, and development of Greenland from its discovery to the present day. It opens with a discussion by Gudmund Hatt of the various types of European colonization and their effects on the native inhabitants, followed by an examination of Greenland's status in the international world from the pen of Gustav Rasmussen. Then comes what most readers will consider the real heart of the volume, three treatises, by Harald Lindow, Louis Bobé, and H. Ostermann, on the colonization, trade, and administration of Greenland since the earliest days of Norse settlement. The succeeding papers deal with the history of the Greenland mission, the present-day Greenland church, the educational system, hygiene, and mining; and the volume closes with three appendices, two indexes, an etymological glossary, and a map of Greenland to the scale of 1 to 4,000,000.

Of the many interesting sections in this book, one deals with the

trade of the early Norse settlers in Greenland from the tenth to the fifteenth centuries. That their principal imports should be iron goods, malt and flour, timber, and, during the first centuries of the period of colonization, domestic animals for breeding, indicates how dependent they were on the mother lands, Iceland and Norway, for some of the necessities of life, and largely explains the rapid destruction of the colony when it was cut off from further communication with the outside world. We are reminded of the early French-Canadian settlers, with their narrow plots of land running back from the bank of the St. Lawrence River that linked them with France, and of the mother land that sent out to them each year new supplies of iron for tools and weapons, and guns and ammunition to withstand the raids of the fierce Iroquois; and we wonder what would have happened if these Canadian colonists had been cut off from Europe for two hundred years.

In the article on "Trade and administration in Greenland", Mr. Lindow discusses freely and dispassionately the two peculiar features in Greenland's administration, the trade monopoly and the virtual closing of the country to the outside world, which have aroused so much criticism, less from foreign nations than within Denmark itself. The principle of "Greenland for the Greenlanders" has been the established policy of the Danish government for the last two centuries. In the words of Dr. Hatt (p. 13), "the reason why the trade monopoly is still maintained, and why Greenland—with the exception of the non-colonized parts of the east coast—has hitherto been closed to non-Greenlandic fishers and hunters is the consideration of the well-being of the Greenlanders. Greenland is one of the few colonial areas where the consideration of what is best for the native population weighs more heavily than the demands of European trades."

Critics point out, nevertheless, that so much miscegenation has taken place since the days of the pioneer missionary, Hans Egede, that a large proportion of the present-day Greenlanders are one-quarter or one-half European; and they ask, very pertinently, what is the purpose of the well-integrated educational system, admirably described in this volume by Mr. Schultz-Lorentzen, if the Greenlanders are to remain perpetually in a condition of tutelage. They point to the diametrically opposite system that the United States has adopted in Alaska, of permitting full freedom of access and trade to the citizens of every country, and of helping the Eskimos to stand on their own feet in the world of international commerce. The defenders of the present administration of Greenland freely admit that "to keep the Greenlanders in a state of economic and intellectual pupilage is unworthy no less of the Danish administration than of the native population, and that it is the duty

of Denmark to help the Greenlanders towards reaching a higher state of development which in its turn may lead to the opening up of the country" (p. 39); but they claim that the resources of the country are exceedingly scanty and that the people are as yet too undeveloped to hold their own in free competition with foreigners.

So the conflict of views still continues in Denmark. Canadians, who have a somewhat similar problem in respect to the Eskimos, will read with interest and profit this comprehensive survey of Greenland's history, and of the successes and failures in regulating its trade and securing the prosperity of its native population.

D. JENNESS

*Canada West.* By FREDERICK NIVEN. Illustrated by JOHN INNES. London and Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons. 1930. Pp. viii, 188. (5s.) This volume in the "Outward Bound Library" does not profess to be a history of western Canada. It is rather a series of vivid impressions of the west by an author whose experience dates back over thirty years. The contrast between the "Old West" of the covered waggon, the railway builders, and the North West Mounted Police, and the "New West" of the wheat pools, immigrants from "preferred countries", and company towns, is graphically portrayed. The author first saw Calgary when it was a "cow-town" with cowboys in chaps and Stetson hats. He returned after a decade or more to a modern city with taxis and street cars and finally came to the oil metropolis of Alberta.

There are many striking descriptive passages in the book dealing with Indian days at Banff, also with Tom Wilson and Walter Nixon, noted old timers and guides, and unforgettable pictures of lone prospectors, with their pack-horses, rifles, and picks and pans, looking for gold strikes in the Similkameen and Lardeau regions of British Columbia. Mr. Niven also gives good advice to the tenderfeet and explains the intricacies of Canadian currency as expressed in "bits." He even includes a list of prices current in western Canada.

The chief difficulty in reading the book is to follow the thread of the narrative from Winnipeg to the Pacific coast through the many digressions in which the author indulges. Mr. Niven enjoys writing about the west and tells good stories of the early days. Warburton Pike, or "Crazy Pike" as he was locally known, looks in on us for a moment before he starts out *On snowshoes to the barren grounds*. We stand with Walter Nixon and the author, entranced upon Panorama plateau. But in putting down the book it must be confessed that it is hard for us to see the whole picture clearly. This is perhaps inevitable in an impressionistic work.



Some errors and omissions are to be noted: in the list of books for reference, Burpee has become "Burce"; Astoria is not in Washington State, but in Oregon (p. 5); the Royal Engineers were not sent out to build the Cariboo road (p. 111); there is no mention of the Fraser River gold rush on page 110; the map at the beginning and end of the book does not accurately show the railway lines which it does include, and omits several of the most important.

The illustrations by John Innes add to the interest of the book. Both author and artist have caught the spirit of pioneer days on the prairies and in British Columbia. They are at their best when off the beaten track.

WALTER N. SAGE

*Études sur Garneau, critique historique.* By the Abbé GEORGES ROBILTAILE. [Montréal:] Librairie d'Action canadienne-française. 1929. Pp. 253.

THIS volume consists of essays upon Garneau and Augustin Thierry, Garneau's *History of Canada*, Laval and his historians, and the Jansenists, with Garneau's history as the unifying theme. The author, who is well acquainted both with Garneau's history and its sources, discusses Garneau's debt to the French historian of the Restoration and concludes (p. 50) that "Garneau n'était pas à bonne école au point de vue catholique, qui est le vrai point de vue." Having thus made his position clear, he proceeds to criticize the changes made in the various editions of Garneau's history, in particular those of the fifth and succeeding editions published by Hector Garneau, the grandson of the historian. Similarly, after an excursion into French history to dispose of the "legend" of the spiritual superiority of the Jansenists, he discusses the charge of excessive love of power levelled against Bishop Laval by Garneau and Faillon. It is scarcely surprising that he finds in favour of the bishop.

R. FLENLEY

*The St. Lawrence Waterway Project: The Story of the St. Lawrence River as an International Highway for Water-borne Commerce.* By GEORGE WASHINGTON STEPHENS. Montreal: Louis Carrier and Co. 1930. Pp. 460.

THE St. Lawrence project has been so befogged by propaganda and counter-propaganda and by the manipulation of statistics that there was unquestionably room for a volume attempting to make a clear and intelligent examination of the whole question. Mr. Stephens leaves the reader in no doubt that he is a strong advocate of the proposal, but



one of his chief aims is exposition and he presents evidence and opinions on both sides. He makes clear, too, the complexity of the problem by examining its various aspects. The first two chapters contain brief descriptions of the treaties which have affected the St. Lawrence basin, and an attempted sketch of the development of rail and water transportation. The third touches upon the growth of the principle of free navigation in some of the world's great rivers. In the fourth, the author describes the present proposals for the improvement of the waterway. The fifth purports to be a "History of the negotiations of the St. Lawrence waterway project, 1832-1929", but the negotiations described in a rather loosely-written chronological account are confined to the period of this century. Chapter VI has short historical sketches of the Canadian and American canals in the St. Lawrence region. The author then deals in turn with the history and importance of Chicago's diversion of water from Lake Michigan; the alternative water routes from the centre of the continent to the sea; and the proposed production of power in relation to Canada's industrial development. In a final chapter of "Reflections", which is, perhaps, the best in the book for clarity and force, Mr. Stephens presents his arguments in favour of the project, points out several matters which must be clearly settled in any arrangement with the United States, and makes some interesting suggestions, such as that a free port should be established in the region of power production as an aid to the building up of one of the world's greatest industrial areas. There are a number of interesting illustrations; several maps, two of them excellent and on a large scale; five appendices, including a chart of arguments for and against the project; a rather curiously selected, but useful, bibliography and indexes of names and subjects.

Having indicated the nature of the volume and the fact that it contains a good deal of useful information, this reviewer is forced to admit that it is one of the most unsatisfactory books that he has read in a long time. The chapters follow no logical order; why, for example, does the historical chapter on canals follow the description of the present scheme and the negotiations regarding it? The book abounds with irrelevant material, and material whose relevance the author does not make clear; of what use, for example, is the description of the Oregon Boundary Treaty of 1846, or the treaty of 1910 about the islands of Passamaquoddy Bay, or the names of the plenipotentiaries who framed the Treaty of Paris in 1763, or the history of the Sturgeon Bay and Lake Michigan Ship Canal, or much of the material on pages 25, 32, 52-53, 73-75, 86, and many other subsequent pages? Repetitions, petty and important, are numerous and irritating, many of them being due to

the lack of logical arrangement. The historical treatment is very inadequate in many places, and is all the worse because so many irrelevant facts are included; there is certainly little warrant for the subtitle as scarcely any attempt is made to trace the history of commerce on the waterway. The style of writing is often very bad; loosely phrased, ambiguous, and obscure statements are almost as common as in a second class undergraduate essay; e.g., "the first Treaty of Paris, between Great Britain and the United States of America, whereby the latter achieved independence" (p. 24a); "the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway gave to Canada, as an economic unit, length"; "a somewhat unique thing" (p. 195); the New York State Barge Canal is classed among those connecting international boundary waters (p. 296). Lack of space forbids the citing of numerous other illustrations. With a thorough editorial pruning and a logical re-arrangement of material, this book might have been halved in size and doubled in value.

GEORGE W. BROWN

*Problems of the Pacific 1929: Proceedings of the Third Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Nara and Kyoto, Japan, October 23 to November 9, 1929.* By J. B. CONDLIFFE. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1930. Pp. xv, 697; maps. (\$5.00.)

CANADA was largely represented at this conference. All three nations of North America sent delegates; those of South America on the Pacific were apparently not invited; France and Russia, important Pacific powers, held aloof, sending only observers. In consequence the conference became really one of representatives of China, Japan, the British Empire, and the United States. An observer might have thought that its chief meaning was that China and Japan discussed their differences before a jury of the English-speaking nations. The two chief topics were Japan's position in Manchuria and China's insistence on the need to abolish rights of extra-territoriality which, though affecting other nations, would concern chiefly the hundreds of thousands of Japanese in China now subject to the jurisdiction of Japanese consular courts. The two hundred members of the conference, too many for effective debate, were divided into four groups that met each morning and discussed the same problem. The table of contents shows that interest centred on such topics as the Asiatic frontiers of the Pacific, the machine as it displaces hand labour, over-population, the foreign concessions and settlements in China, Manchuria, and so on. At some future conference the position of Chinese and Japanese in the United States and Canada will be discussed and some thorny difficulties will be revealed. This conference debated no problems directly affecting Canada. Certain

papers, known as *data* papers, dealing with the Canadian outlook on Pacific matters, were submitted to the conference. The list is on page 632. One paper, not mentioned in the list, and prepared by Mr. R. H. Coats, the Dominion statistician, shows the very great relative increase of Canada's trade with China and Japan as compared with that of the United States. The report is carefully edited and is a mine of information on far eastern questions.

G. M. WRONG

*Survey of American Foreign Relations, 1929.* Prepared under the direction of CHARLES P. HOWLAND, Director of Research for the Council on Foreign Relations. Published for the Council on Foreign Relations. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1929. Pp. xvi, 535; maps. (\$5.00.)

*Economic Foreign Policy of the United States.* By BENJAMIN H. WILLIAMS. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1929. Pp. xi, 426. (\$4.00.)

THE Council on Foreign Relations is sponsor for a series of annual surveys of American foreign policy which gives promise of doing, in a more limited sphere, what is being accomplished by the Royal Institute of International Affairs in the wider realm of international relations. Unlike their British cousins, the American volumes do not necessarily cover the period indicated by the date on the title page. In each volume, the editor tells us, the topics selected "will be those in which a culmination of some sort has thrown the questions involved into high relief, or those which have come to a state of temporary arrest and so allow of deliberate examination." In the one under review, the topics singled out for examination are the Caribbean region, the world court, the Pact of Paris, and immigration. Mr. Howland has been ably served by a strong group of experts in producing a survey which is distinguished by an impartial presentation of facts and a discerning analysis of problems. To others than Americans, the brief treatment of the Peace Pact (Mr. Toynbee devotes almost double the space to it) will seem unbalanced when compared with the detailed study of the republics of the West Indies and Central America, but it probably correctly reflects the American pre-occupation with the difficulties near at hand. For the most part the references to Canada are incidental, but it is interesting to note that Mr. Howland quotes several paragraphs of the Canadian reply to Mr. Kellogg's offer of a Peace Pact because, in comparison with the other notes, it developed "more fully the relation of the treaty to the Covenant and to the operations of the League." In the section on immigration, the influx of Canadians into the United States is briefly

described and some reference is made to the peculiar difficulties of the people of Windsor who are employed in Detroit.

Mr. Williams has given us a liberally-minded but rather pedestrian discussion of the economic motive in American foreign policy. His references to Canada are limited to a description of pulpwood embargoes and of reciprocity treaties. It does not seem to have occurred to him to contrast the financial penetration of the United States in Canada with that in China or the Caribbean.

FREDERIC H. SOWARD

*How Britain is Governed: A Critical Analysis of Modern Developments in the British System of Government.* By RAMSAY MUIR. London: Constable; Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1930. Pp. xi, 333.

THIS book is no mere descriptive outline of British political institutions. It is at once an analysis of present conditions and a programme for future reconstruction; and it presents with vigour and brilliance the distinctive point of view of the thinkers of the Liberal party. Mr. Muir's main thesis is that there have been three great developments since Mill and Bagehot wrote their classical treatises—the growth of bureaucracy, the growth of cabinet dictatorship, and the growth of party organization. These are connected with one another: the elaboration and rigidity of modern party organization is what gives the cabinet its dictatorial control over the house of commons, and "ministerial responsibility" in turn is the cloak behind which the civil service experts carry on their practically irresponsible administration. The result is that parliament has become both unrepresentative and ineffective. The root of the evil Mr. Muir believes to be the present highly centralized party system. In the first half of the nineteenth century, the two-party system was a rather loose organization, permitting much individual difference of opinion within each party. But the modern party system has lost this elasticity, and two highly organized parties—the Conservatives under the control of big business, and Labour under the control of the trade unions—no longer represent all shades of opinion in Britain. The remedies suggested are: proportional representation, which will make the house of commons once more representative; and a new series of constitutional conventions, which will make in a house of several balanced parties an efficient working machine. The most important new convention would be that a ministry defeated in the house has no right to a dissolution.

Most of Mr. Muir's points are, as he freely admits, highly controversial. To the Canadian reader, the main interest of the book is in the

many parallels which it suggests between Canadian and British political problems under cabinet government. Many of Mr. Muir's recommendations will be recognized as similar to suggestions that have been made during the last few years by the independent groups at Ottawa. And, while geographical and social conditions make the Canadian party system very different from the British, a good deal more may be heard in Canada during the next ten or twenty years of many of the points which he discusses.

FRANK H. UNDERHILL

*Canadian Penal Institutions.* By C. W. TOPPING. (Social Service Monographs, number 9.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1930. Pp. xiv, 126.

THIS is the only book covering the subject. It is true that the author refers to *The convicted criminal and his re-establishment as a citizen* (Toronto, 1926), by this reviewer, as "the outstanding book on Canadian penal practice", but that volume deals almost exclusively with Ontario, and especially with the causes of crime and with certain unique institutions in that province. Mr. Topping's work describes the prisons of the whole Dominion.

The task is well performed. No essential fact has been left out of the book, which is not only informative but clear and readable and is based upon wide reading and personal knowledge. Some figures were, of course, necessary, but since these change with the years or even days, it is well that they have been used sparingly and only for the purpose of illustration or comparison. The author might wisely have been as sparing of the names of officials, for these also change, and already, between the writing of the book and its publication, some have died or have been transferred.

The author has confined himself, for the most part, to a descriptive and historical record, with some fair and impartial criticisms and comparisons. His opinions, as to the fundamental principles underlying the proper treatment of offenders, have mostly been indicated in concise quotations, or have been left to inferences which can easily be made by the reader. The quotations from General Hughes are especially good. I have never met anyone who found himself in agreement with all the statements made or opinions held by any members of that brilliant and capable family, but W. S. Hughes has well earned the right to express opinions upon penitentiary matters; and Canada has been fortunate in having a superintendent of penitentiaries with such high ideals, which long contact with bitter facts has not in any way lowered.

The book is in some respects encouraging, for it indicates clearly that,

since Confederation, great progress has been made in the decent and sensible handling of prisoners in Canada; and compared with many or most institutions in other countries, Canadian prisons, many of them at least, appear very good indeed. But it is also discouraging, for the author has impartially and frankly stated facts that should give Canadians pause in making exalted claims as to their intelligence or Christianity. It is to be hoped that these facts will be given serious attention and consideration by the general public and especially by legislators. Some offenders have to be caged for a longer or shorter time for the protection of all concerned, but the most important date in anyone's sentence is the day of release. How have the prisoner's time and energies been used while he was in custody? Does he leave prison a "jail bird", disheartened or hardened, or will he, because of the scientifically wise, fair, and humane direction, treatment, discipline, and inspiration given him while in custody, become a free citizen worthy of his freedom? Mere punishment is psychologically stupid. Our forefathers tried that to the limit and in vain. Neither sentimentality nor vindictiveness will avail.

The reviewer has noticed very few errors in the book, but in several places "probation" is used where "parole" should have been. There is a distinct difference. It should be noted also that the Ontario Reformatory at Guelph now has an efficient school and schoolmaster.

ALFRED E. LAVELL

*Public Welfare Administration in Canada.* By MARGARET KIRKPATRICK STRONG. (Social Service Monographs, number 10.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1930. Pp. xiii, 246.

THIS book is a sketch of the development in Canada of public social services for the care of dependent, defective, and delinquent persons. The first section is devoted to a brief description of the public social services of New France and of the provinces of Canada prior to Confederation. These services were not highly developed. The second section is concerned with the various social services performed by the Dominion government, while the third, and most lengthy, division discusses the measures adopted by the various provinces to deal with poverty, delinquency, feeble-mindedness and insanity, deafness and blindness, and the protection of children.

In the period before Confederation there was already a distinction between the social welfare policies followed in Upper and Lower Canada. In Lower Canada charity and relief were looked upon as primarily the care of the church, while in Upper Canada there was a greater disposition to recognize public responsibility for these problems. With the passage of time this distinction has been accentuated. Quebec continues to rely



very largely upon the church, subsidizing it in some instances, to provide care for the sick, the destitute, the mentally infirm, and the underprivileged and handicapped of all sorts; while Ontario has undertaken a marked extension of public services to protect and rehabilitate handicapped groups. In large measure the other provinces have imitated Ontario rather than Quebec, but each province has gone its own way, meeting its own problems as they have arisen, and there is no uniformity of policy or machinery.

In spite of the fact that there has been a remarkable expansion of public social services throughout Canada since Confederation, particularly during the last decade or so, it does not appear to the author that any province "has yet accepted the genuinely democratic, modern program which makes public provision for the curative treatment of all the victims of a struggling civilization." Indeed, the evidence that she presents indicates that social welfare administration throughout the country is in a somewhat chaotic state. Even in Ontario, where public assumption of a good deal of responsibility for the care of handicapped groups is conceded, administration of the services established in their behalf is divided, with little evidence of general plan, between the province, the various agencies of local government, and private organizations. The author points out that many social welfare agencies do not publish reports of their activities, beyond financial statements, and that data on the quality of public welfare administration are exceedingly hard to assemble.

Unfortunately, the book deals scarcely at all with anything beyond the bare bones of the subject—legal enactments. It summarizes one statutory provision after another, but it does not describe the circumstances or motives which brought these enactments into being—the changing problems of public welfare, the development of public opinion regarding proper modes of treatment, the political processes which resulted in legislation, or the theories implicit in the minds of reformers and legislators. Moreover, the book offers little enlightenment as to how the body of public welfare legislation is being administered, it contains only scanty appraisal of its usefulness, and it provides little interpretation of trends in the development of policy. Frankly, the bones lack meat. By themselves they have little life or meaning. In their proper setting, they would form part of a fascinating narrative of social experimentation in the Dominion.

Nevertheless, the author is to be congratulated upon having made a beginning in what is substantially a virgin field of research. Her book is a useful introduction for the student of the subject, and her bibliography will prove of considerable assistance to those who follow her lead.

HARRY M. CASSIDY

*The Canada Year Book, 1930.* [Dominion Bureau of Statistics.] Ottawa: F. A. Acland. 1930. Pp. xxxiv, 1094.

THE 1930 edition of the year book contains little material that is distinctively new as compared with former years except, of course, the tabulated data of the year 1929. Perhaps the most important new feature is an article upon the temperature and precipitation of northern Canada, contributed by Mr. Conner. This is a timely and informative article. It is interesting to compare the temperature of Fort Churchill with that of other parts of Canada and to recognize that it is not subject to the extremes of cold that one might expect. There is also some new material upon retail prices and upon old age pensions.

The section on vital statistics is now one of great value because, as these statistics stretch over a longer period of time, they become of greater interest and importance. It is not long since this work was taken over from the provinces by the federal department, and the improvement in vital statistics is an indication of the progress made in the statistics of Canada. It is significant to note the decrease alike in the birth-rate and death-rate. The chapter on external trade has little new material but is one of the best sections of the year book. The introduction is excellent and the tabulated statements are a thorough and able treatment of the subject.

The chapter upon public finance is perhaps as little satisfactory as any, especially in its meagre and inadequate treatment of provincial finances. Perhaps this is what we should expect. The bureau has to deal with statistical data gathered and approved by the provincial administrations. If the provinces had a uniform system of public accounting it would be of great assistance for comparative statements. But for persons who do not have easy access to the public accounts of the provinces, such tables as were given in former year books have considerable value. Of course, there is the special publication of the federal bureau upon provincial finances and if such a general publication as the year book is crowded with data of a more special nature it may easily become too bulky. At the same time, a more adequate treatment of provincial financial statistics is urgently needed, and we may be quite sure that an improvement in this section will follow as a result of further investigations of the bureau.

The *Canada Year Book* takes high rank as a publication of a statistical nature and reflects credit alike upon its editor and upon the federal Bureau of Statistics. It is by all means the most thorough and comprehensive compilation of statistical data upon Canada. It is not surprising that Canadian colleges are using it as a textbook, or supplementary textbook, in courses in economics, sociology, or political science.

W. C. KEIRSTEAD

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

(Notice in this section does not preclude a later and more extended review.)

### I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA WITHIN THE EMPIRE

BEAVERBROOK, Lord. *My case for Empire free trade*. London: The Empire Crusade. 1930. Pp. 76. (15 cents.)

Extracts from Lord Beaverbrook's speeches on his plan of Empire free trade.

BERBER, FRIEDRICH. *Die Rechtsbeziehungen der britischen Dominions zum Mutterland*. Ansbach: Brugel und Sohn. 1929. Pp. 102. (\$1.00.)

To be reviewed later.

BLACKETT, BASIL. *The British Empire as an economic family* (Nineteenth century, July, 1930, pp. 36-47; August, 1930, pp. 177-187).

A consideration of what practical measures can be immediately undertaken to promote true economic co-operation throughout the Empire.

BORNIER, J. MAGNAN. *L'Empire britannique: Son évolution politique et constitutionnelle*. Paris: Mechelinck. 1930. Pp. 304.

To be reviewed later.

BURCHELL, CHARLES J. *The British Commonwealth of Nations* (Canadian bar review, September, 1930, pp. 492-497).

A bird's-eye view of the various steps in the constitutional development of the Empire between 1766 and 1929.

CAMERON, EDWARD ROBERT. *The Canadian constitution as interpreted by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in its judgments, together with a collection of all the decisions of the Judicial Committee which deal therewith*. Volume II. Toronto: The Carswell Company. 1930. Pp. xvii, 541, 5.

To be reviewed later.

CANAWAY, A. P. *The failure of federalism in Australia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1930. Pp. ix, 215.

To be reviewed later.

CONDLIFFE, J. B. *New Zealand in the making: A survey of economic and social development*. London: Allen and Unwin. 1930. Pp. 524.

To be reviewed later.

DAYE, PIERRE. *L'Empire britannique est-il en décadence?* (Flambeau, août, 1930, pp. 430-436).

A continental discussion of the British Empire.

ELLIOTT, W. Y. *A written constitution for the British Commonwealth?* (Political quarterly, July-September, 1930, pp. 386-409).

The question is raised of the need of the Empire for a written constitution.

EWART, JOHN S. *Canada and the next war* (Canadian republic, January, 1930, pp. 23-30; February, 1930, pp. 21-30).

Mr. Ewart attempts to prove that, "unless some drastic change in current governmental methods occurs, the engulfment of Canada in the next European war is certain."

Imperial unity—How much remains? *Flags and citizens* (Canadian republic, March, 1930, pp. 18-30; April, 1930, pp. 26-30).

A discussion of the legislative, executive, fiscal, and diplomatic unity of the Empire, and a description of the various flags of the British Commonwealth.

FAIRFAX-LUCY, HENRY. *Hints for the Imperial Conference* (Empire review, August, 1930, pp. 99-101).

A plea that Empire statesmen co-operate to encourage Empire development.

FAUCON, GUILLAUME. *Le statut de l'Etat Libre d'Irlande*. Paris: Rousseau. 1929. Pp. 252.

To be reviewed later.

FIFOOT, C. H. S. *What is Dominion status?* (Fortnightly review, September, 1930, pp. 299-306).

A paper which is concerned with the limitations upon the legislative power of the dominions.

HUNT, ERLING M. *American precedents in Australian federation*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1930. Pp. 286.

To be reviewed later.

*Imperial economic unity* (Round table, September, 1930, pp. 745-765).

A criticism of the proposals of Lord Melchett, Lord Beaverbrook, and others for Empire free trade.

JENKS, EDWARD. *Government of the British Empire*. 4th revised edition. London: Murray. 1929. Pp. xii, 414.

To be reviewed later.

*Judicial appeals to the Privy Council*. I. *The case for discontinuing appeals* by JOHN S. EWART; II. *The case for appeals* by GEORGE H. SEDGEWICK; *Mr. Ewart's reply* (Queen's quarterly, Summer, 1930, pp. 456-494).

A debate on the question of appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

LAMB, DAVID C. *An open letter to the Imperial Conference* (Empire review, September, 1930, pp. 177-180).

A plea for Empire migration and settlement as a means of solving the problem of unemployment.

LEACOCK, STEPHEN. *Economic prosperity in the British Empire*. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1930. Pp. vii, 246. (\$2.00.)

To be reviewed later.

LUFFT, HERMAN. *Das britische Weltreich*. Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut. 1930. Pp. viii, 626.

An economic survey of the British Empire. Only a few pages are devoted to Canada (503-513). The material in these pages is chiefly based on the *Canada year book*, and deals with Canada's foreign trade. But the author prefaces the Canadian section with a note to the effect that he intends publishing a special volume ("Angloamerika") which will treat solely of Canada, Newfoundland, and the United States. (L. HAMILTON)

MELCHETT, Lord. *Die wirtschaftliche Zukunft des Britischen Reiches* (Nord u. Sud, June, 1930, pp. 527-533).

An article on the economic future of the British Empire.

MONEY, Sir LEO CHIOZZA. *Empire and population* (Living age, July 15, 1930).

"Can Britain maintain her Empire and the white race its world ascendancy on a falling birth-rate?"

MONTPETIT, EDOUARD. "After all this is a British country" (Revue trimestrielle canadienne, septembre, 1930, pp. 331-340).

An estimate of the place of French Canada in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

MORGAN, J. H. *The legal and political unity of the Empire* (English review, July, 1930, pp. 49-58).

A discussion of the unity of the Empire both from a legal and a political point of view.

*Reports of the Imperial Economic Committee, thirteenth report: A memorandum on the trade of the British Empire, 1913 and 1925 to 1928.* London: His Majesty's Stationery Office. 1930. Pp. 27. (6d.)

An analysis of Empire trade in 1913, 1925, 1926, 1927, and 1928.

SMITH, Lieut.-Col. BAIRD. *The defence of the Empire* (Fortnightly review, September, 1930, pp. 332-340).

A brief survey of imperial defence in the last half-century.

*The task of the Imperial Conference* (Round table, September, 1930, pp. 709-731).

The recommendations made by the "Conference on the Operation of Dominion Legislation and Merchant Shipping Legislation, 1929", which met in London in the autumn of 1929 and presented its report in January, 1930.

VAN PITTIUS, E. F. W. GEY. *Nationality within the British Commonwealth of Nations.* London: P. S. King and Son, Ltd. 1930. Pp. xvi, 238.

To be reviewed later.

## II. HISTORY OF CANADA

### (1) General History

ANDREWS, C. L. *Biographical sketch of Captain William Moore* (Washington historical quarterly, July, 1930, pp. 195-203; October, 1930, pp. 271-280).

A biography of Captain William Moore, an outstanding pioneer character in the State of Washington, in British Columbia, and in Alaska, where he played a prominent part in the stirring days of the gold excitement of the Klondike.

BARRY, J. NEILSON. *An extraordinary canoe race from Astoria in 1811* (Washington historical quarterly, October, 1930, pp. 294-296).

A minor episode of the Astorians.

BELZILE, THURIBE. *Les allocations familiales au Canada* (Revue trimestrielle canadienne, septembre, 1930, pp. 239-268).

Observations on a system of family allowances granted by the state and Canada's need for such legislation.

CATHÉLINEAU, EMMANUEL de. *Quel jour Cartier rentra-t-il de son troisième voyage?* (Nova Francia, mars-avril, 1930, pp. 97-99).

A research into a question of dates with regard to Jacques Cartier.

CONDLIFFE, J. B. *Problems of the Pacific, 1929. Proceedings of the third conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations. Nara and Kyoto, Japan, October 23 to November 9, 1929.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1930. Pp. xv, 697.

Reviewed on page 361.

CORY, HARPER. *Modern Canada.* London: William Heinemann; Toronto: Doubleday, Doran and Gundy. 1930. Pp. xvi, 289.

To be reviewed later.

DENNIS, ELSIE FRANCES. *Indian slavery in Pacific northwest, III* (Oregon historical quarterly, September, 1930, pp. 285-296).

The third instalment of an article on slavery among the Indians of the Pacific coast.

DESJARDINS, P. JOSEPH-ALPHONSE. *En Alaska: Deux mois sous la tente*. Montréal: Imprimerie du Messager. 1930. Pp. 293.

A picture of the Athapaskan-speaking natives who inhabit the central valley of the Yukon. The author lived among them for seven years from 1908 to 1915, studying their manners and their language.

DONNAN, ELIZABETH. *Documents illustrative of the history of the slave trade to America*. Volume I, 1441-1700. (Carnegie Institution of Washington, publication number 409.) Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1930. Pp. x, 495.

While this excellent volume does not touch directly upon Canadian history, it is of value in throwing light on some important aspects of European policy and interest in the New World. French participation in the slave trade was much less than that of England or Spain.

GARRAGHAN, GILBERT J. (ed.). *Father De Smet's Sioux peace mission of 1868 and the journal of Charles Galpin* (Mid-America, October, 1930, pp. 141-163).

A transcript of the journal of Charles Galpin who accompanied De Smet in 1868 as interpreter on the peace expedition to the Indians.

GRAHAM, JOHN W. *Britain and America*. (The Mertens Lecture, 1930.) London: The Hogarth Press. 1930. Pp. 134. (75 cents.)

Reviewed on page 333.

HAMILTON, Colonel C. F. *The Canadian militia: The South African War* (Canadian defence quarterly, July, 1930, pp. 537-542).

An extension of the chapter entitled "Defence, 1812-1912" in volume VII of *Canada and its provinces*.

HAMILTON, LOUIS. *Die Deutschen in Kanada* (Zeitschrift für Politik, März, 1930, pp. 773-785).

A paper on the Germans in Canada.

HOWAY, F. W. *The attempt to capture the brig "Otter"* (Washington historical quarterly, July, 1930, pp. 179-188).

A memorandum on the attack which was made in 1811 at Chilkat Inlet, Lynn Canal, Alaska, on the Boston brig *Otter*.

HUTTON, SAMUEL KING. *An Eskimo village*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. N.d. Pp. 156.

To be reviewed later.

JANE, CECIL. *The voyages of Christopher Columbus, being the journals of his first and third, and the letters concerning his first and last voyages, to which is added the account of his second voyage written by Andres Bernaldez*. Now newly translated and edited, with an introduction and notes. London: The Argonaut Press. 1930. Pp. 347. (£2.2.0.)

To be reviewed later.

KENNEDY, W. P. M. *Some aspects of Canadian and Australian federal constitutional law*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University. 1930. Pp. 13.

An illuminating comparison of Canadian and Australian interpretations of federal constitutional law.

(ed.). *Statutes, treaties and documents of the Canadian constitution, 1713-1929*. Second edition, revised and enlarged. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1930. Pp. xxviii, 752. (\$6.00.)

To be reviewed later.

KOELLREUTTER, OTTO. *Der englische Staat der Gegenwart und das britische Weltreich*. Breslau: Ferdinand Hirt. 1930. Pp. 136.

A sketchy survey of the conditions and "civics" of the various parts of the Empire in which many of the remarks about Canada are wrong. Thus her popula-



tion" is 9,000,000 (p. 85); she has had a minister at Washington since 1920 (p. 99); Wolfe took Quebec in 1760 (p. 100). When a man writes about the British Empire and calls Lord Lloyd "Sir Lloyd" (p. 91), we suspect he will not always understand the English authorities he consults. (L. HAMILTON)

*List of officers and members and minutes of proceedings of the Royal Society of Canada, 1930.* Ottawa: Printed for the Royal Society of Canada. 1930. Pp. 13, cxxxii.

The annual report of the Royal Society of Canada for 1930.

LOUGHRAN, E. WARD. *Did a priest accompany Columbus in 1492?* (Catholic historical review, July, 1930, pp. 164-174).

The author's conclusion is that no priest sailed on this first voyage.

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Louis de Lorimier* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, octobre, 1930, pp. 632-633).

An item on Louis de Lorimier who was a notable figure in the Old North-West.

MEHRHARDT-ILLOW, C. *Ausgerechnet Canada.* Berlin: Paul Parey. 1930. Pp. 210; illustrations.

The translation of the title of this book is "Canada of all places." The best parts of this accumulation of printers' ink are the final words—"...in rasendem Tempo sauste ich gen Osten, der Heimat entgegen!" The author will not be missed in the Dominion. The paper and printing, as well as the binding (salmon-coloured linen) are excellent. (L. HAMILTON)

MEIGHEN, Brigadier-General F. S. *The Canadian Grenadier Guards* (Canadian defence quarterly, July, 1930, pp. 549-552).

The story of the famous Canadian Grenadier Guards.

*Mémoires du sieur Cebet* (1) (Bulletin des recherches historiques, juillet, 1930, pp. 403-417).

"Esquisse historique et politique sur le Canada présenté à la Convention Nationale le 10 pluviôse, l'an 3, par le citoyen Cebet, chef du bureau du monument de la commission des armes et poudres."

MILEY, CORA. *James K. Polk, the first "dark horse" elected to the presidency* (Americana, volume XXIV, number 3, 1930, pp. 343-369).

A brief synopsis is given of the Oregon boundary question.

MUIR, RAMSAY. *British history: A survey of the history of all the British peoples.* Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York: World Book Company. 1930. Pp. xx, 816.

A history of the British peoples and their achievements in the world. The author has "tried to weave together, into a single consecutive narrative, the stories of Scotland, Ireland, the dominions, India, and colonies—and also, up to a certain point, the history of America." There is included an intelligible account of the Great War and a history of the Empire since the Great War. Although primarily designed as a textbook, the book is interesting and readable.

MUNRO, WILLIAM BENNETT. *American government to-day.* New York: Macmillan. 1930. Pp. viii, 653. (\$1.75.)

Although written primarily for high school students in the United States, this excellent handbook is suitable for general readers who desire a simple and accurate account of the system of government in the Republic. It is especially good in explaining not merely the constitutional machine but the practical problems and functions of government as they affect the citizen through the work of administrative departments, political parties, etc. The chapter on foreign problems of national government show that the League of Nations and World Court cannot be left out of consideration but does not commit the author to any opinions on controversial questions.

- NEWMAN, BERTRAM. *Lord Melbourne*. London: Macmillan. 1930. Pp. xii, 322.  
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- PHELPS, CHRISTINA. *The Anglo-American peace movement in the mid-nineteenth century*. (Studies in history, economics, and public law, number 330.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1930. Pp. 230. (\$3.50.)  
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- PORTER, KENNETH W. *Cruise of Astor's brig "Pedler", 1813-1816* (Oregon historical quarterly, September, 1930, pp. 223-230).  
A chapter in the history of Astor's project for a fur-trading station at the mouth of the Columbia River.
- QUAIFE, MILO M. *The kingdom of Saint James: A narrative of the Mormons*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1930. Pp. 284.  
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- ROSE, J. HOLLAND et al (eds.). *The Cambridge history of the British Empire*. Volume VI: *Canada and Newfoundland*. Cambridge: At the University Press; Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1930. Pp. xxi, 939.  
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- RUSSELL, Hon. B. *A suggestive retrospect* (Dalhousie review, April, 1930, pp. 75-82).  
A few historical reflections on Anglo-American relations.
- RUTHERFORD, V. H. *War or peace? England and America*. London: Williams and Norgate, Ltd. 1930. Pp. 96.  
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- SANDON, Viscount. *The New World and Europe* (Dalhousie review, April, 1930, pp. 10-16).  
A comment on New and Old World relations.
- SANDWELL, B. K. *The sensitiveness of Canadians* (Queen's quarterly, Spring, 1930, pp. 279-291).  
A candid criticism of the attitude of Canadians towards the opinions of external critics.
- SCRIVEN, GEORGE P. *The story of the Hudson's Bay Company, otherwise of the Company of Adventurers of England Trading into Hudson's Bay*. Washington, D.C.: St. Anselm's Priory. 1929. Pp. 66.  
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- SUTLEY, ZACK T. *The last frontier*. New York: Macmillan. 1930. Pp. viii, 350. (\$3.50.)  
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- TAYLOR, ROBERT BRUCE. *Lands and peoples: the world in color*. Volume VI: *Canada and the United States*. Toronto: The Grolier Society Limited. 1930. Pp. 400.  
A pictorial history with charming coloured illustrations. There are chapters in the Canadian section on the "friendly north", the Indians, the Dominion as a whole, the Maritime Provinces, Quebec, Ontario, the western provinces, Canadian cities, and the Dominion of Newfoundland.
- TREMAUDAN, A.-H. de. *Les nôtres en Californie* ((Canada français, octobre, 1930, pp. 107-120).  
A glimpse of what French Canadians are accomplishing in California.
- VILLIERS, LE baron Marc de. *La Louisiane, histoire de son nom et de ses frontières successives (1681-1819)* (Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, tome XXI, 1929, pp. 1-70).  
This is a critical résumé of the history of Louisiana, well annotated and illustrated with nine maps.

WALLACE, W. STEWART (ed.). *With sword and trowel: Select documents illustrating "A first book of Canadian history"*. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1930. Pp. xii, 206. (75 cents.)

A well-selected collection of documents suitable for use in secondary schools.

WASSERMANN, JACOB. *Columbus, Don Quixote of the seas*. Translated from the German by ERIC SUTTON. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 1930. Pp. 287.

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Colonization projects of Robert Giffard in the first half of the seventeenth century.

CATHELINÉAU, EMMANUEL de. *Le portrait de Louis XV à Québec* (Nova Francia, mars-avril, 1930, pp. 76-85).

A memoir on the portrait of Louis XV sent to Quebec in 1734.

COUILLARD DESPRES, Abbé A. *Charles de Saint-Etienne de la Tour, gouverneur, lieutenant-général en Acadie, et son temps, 1593-1666*. Arthabaska, P.Q.: L'Imprimerie d'Arthabaska. 1930. Pp. 497. (\$4.50.)

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An item from the archives of the province of Quebec.

HABIG, MARION A. *Father Gabriel de la Ribourde, O.F.M.: The first martyr in Illinois* (Mid-America, October, 1930, pp. 103-120).

The story of Father Gabriel de la Ribourde who was murdered in 1680 by a band of Indians on the banks of the Illinois River.

*Information contre le sieur d'Ailleboust d'Argenteuil* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, septembre, 1930, pp. 565-576; octobre, 1930, pp. 599-604).

Testimony against the Sieur d'Argenteuil who was accused of having killed the Sieur de la Mollerie in the early part of the eighteenth century.

*Lettres de Mère Marie-Andrée Duplessis de Sainte-Hélène, supérieure des hospitalières de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec* (Nova Francia, mars-avril, 1930, pp. 92-96).

A further instalment of the letters of Mère Marie-Andrée Duplessis de Sainte-Hélène.

*Liste des sujets qui composent le conseil souverain et les juridictions royales de la colonie (1758)* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, août, 1930, pp. 464-465).

A list published from the archives of the province of Quebec.

MACMECHAN, ARCHIBALD. *Red snow on Grand Pré. II* (Dalhousie review, July, 1930, pp. 170-180).

The second part of an article that tells the story of the struggle between the French and the English for Acadia.

*Map of Canada showing historic forts and trading posts, and map of Mississippi and Ohio valleys showing chain of historic French forts*. Ottawa: Department of the Interior. 1930.

Two valuable maps illustrating *Historic forts and trading posts of the French régime* by ERNEST VOORHIS, noted in the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, June, 1930, page 184.

*Le Maréchal de camp Desandrouins* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, octobre, 1930, pp. 607-608).

A life of Jean-Nicolas Desandrouins, 1729-1792.

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Archers de la maréchaussée, hoquetons et archers de la marine* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, août, 1930, pp. 458-461).

A memorandum on archers of the constabulary, yeomen of the guard, and archers of the naval forces in New France.

— *La famille Juchereau de Beaumarchais et de Saint-Denis* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, septembre, 1930, pp. 528-529).

Documents concerning Charles Juchereau which are in the archives at Montreal.

— *Le librairie relieur Bargeas* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, août, 1930, pp. 466-469).

An interesting addition to M. Massicotte's paper on booksellers, stationers, and bookbinders published in the *Bulletin des recherches historiques*, 1930, page 298.

— *Les métiers rares d'autrefois* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, octobre, 1930, pp. 609-613).

Some marble-cutters, wax-chandlers, florists, dancing-masters, pastry-cooks, tapestry-workers, and perfumers of New France.

*Mémoire du roi aux sieurs Marquis de Vaudreuil, gouverneur et lieutenant général, et Begon, intendant de la Nouvelle-France (25 juin 1713)* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, octobre, 1930, pp. 616-631).

Printed from the Archives of Canada, series B, volume 35-3, page 230.

*Mémoire sur les pesches sédentaires du Canada (1696)* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, août, 1930, pp. 473-474).

A note on the fishing industry of New France.

*Notes relatives aux seigneuries de la Nouvelle-France* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, août, 1930, pp. 449-457).

Notes on the seigniories of New France:

*Un plaidoyer pour services médicaux en 1759* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, octobre, 1930, pp. 634-640).

"Défenses d'Augustin Bélan contre Bernard Planté, chirurgien, demandeur en cette part."

*Prise de possession de la cure de Repentigny par M. Chaigneau (14 juillet, 1707)* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, septembre, 1930, pp. 541-542).

Printed from the Archives Judiciaires de Montréal.

*Un procès criminel à Québec en 1716* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, août, 1930, pp. 477-498).

Procédures criminelles contre Jacques de Molleray de la Mollerie, enseigne dans les troupes de la marine, pour avoir tué d'un coup d'épée Charles Fustel à Québec, en septembre, 1716.

*Ratification du traité de paix du 13 décembre 1665 (22 mai 1666)* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, octobre, 1930, pp. 605-606).

A memoir on French relations with the Indians.

ROQUEBRUNE, R. la ROQUE de. *Les demoiselles de Thavenet* (Nova Francia, mars-avril, 1930, pp. 86-89).

A note concerning Sieur de Chambly, captain of the Carignan regiment.

ROY, P.-G. *Joseph-Hyacinthe de Rigaud de Vaudreuil* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, octobre, 1930, pp. 577-588).

A genealogical study in the family of Philippe de Rigaud de Vaudreuil, governor of New France.

*Traité de paix avec les Iroquois fait à Québec le 13 décembre 1665* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, septembre, 1930, pp. 530-535).

The treaty of 1665 with the Iroquois printed from the archives of the province of Quebec.

WEBSTER, JOHN CLARENCE. *The forts of Chignecto: A study of the eighteenth century conflict between France and Great Britain in Acadia*. Saint John, N.B.: Rapid-Grip Limited, 59 Water Street, Saint John. 1930. Pp. 142, iv. (\$5.00, postage paid.)

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(ed.). *Journal of Abijah Willard of Lancaster, Mass., 1755*.

(Reprinted from collections of New Brunswick Historical Society, number 13, pp. 75.)

A copy of the journal of Captain Abijah Willard which tells of the siege of Fort Beauséjour and of the proceedings which followed. The journal is of the greatest value in describing the punitive measures adopted by the British against the Acadian settlements after the capture of Fort Beauséjour.

### (3) British North America before 1867

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A summary of the life of a Connecticut politician who represented the moderate element in the American Revolution.

HENDERSON, ARCHIBALD. *A pre-revolutionary revolt in the Old Southwest* (Mississippi valley historical review, September, 1930, pp. 191-212).

An analysis of the real motives, especially the interest in the land question, which led to the espousal of the Revolutionary cause by the leaders of the southern colonies.

HOWAY, F. W. *Some notes on Cook's and Vancouver's ships, 1776-80, 1791-95* (Washington historical quarterly, October, 1930, pp. 268-270).

Some information about four historic vessels—Captain Cook's *Resolution*, Captain Cook's *Discovery*, Captain Vancouver's *Discovery*, and Captain Vancouver's *Chatham*.

JEANES, Captain G. F. *The Kelsey papers: An unsolved riddle in early Canadian history* (United Empire, September, 1930, pp. 491-496).

A sketch of Henry Kelsey and an account of the journal of his journey from York Factory in 1691.

JELLY, WILLIAM (comp.). *A summary of the proceedings of the Johnstown district council, 1842-1849*. Brockville: Farrow Brothers. 1929. Pp. 100.

Extracts from the proceedings of the Johnstown district council showing how the council undertook the task of building roads, bridges, school-houses, etc., in a sparsely settled country.

JONES, E. ALFRED. *The Loyalists of Massachusetts: Their memorial petitions and claims*. London: Saint Catherine Press; Boston: Goodspeed's Book Shop. 1930. Pp. xxiv, 341. (\$15.00.)

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Extracts from the journal of the Hon. and Rt. Rev. Charles James Stewart relating to the Church of England in Canada a hundred years ago.

POPE, Major M. A. *The march of the 104th Foot from Fredericton to Quebec, 1813* (Canadian defence quarterly, July, 1930, pp. 490-501).

"A winter march in Canada, in 1813", re-published from *The Albion*, November, 1831.

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A tribute to Admiral Sir Charles Saunders who was Wolfe's partner in the Quebec campaign.

STOCK, LEO FRANCIS (ed.). *Proceedings and debates of the British parliaments respecting North America*. Volume III, 1702-1727. Washington: Carnegie Institution. 1930. Pp. xxvi, 571.

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UPHAM, GEORGE BAXTER. *Burgoyne's great mistake* (New England quarterly, October, 1930, pp. 657-680).

Side-lights on the Tories of the Connecticut River valley.

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A short history of the Hudson's Bay Company.

#### (4) The Dominion of Canada

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A summary of Canada's recent relations with the United States, the Far East, Australia and New Zealand, and the states of Central and South America.

BARRON, M. *Politics and the Canadian women* (Empire review, September, 1930, pp. 202-206).

An attempt to answer the question: Is the Canadian woman taking any part in the political life of Canada?

*Canada: The general election* (Round table, September, 1930, pp. 837-856).

A consideration of recent political events in Canada.

CLARK, JAMES B. M. *The Canadian election* (Nineteenth century, September, 1930, 334-344).

An analysis of the political situation in Canada, dealing with the country in its four main geographical divisions: the Maritime Provinces, Quebec and Ontario, the Prairie Provinces, and British Columbia.

DINESEN, THOMAS. *Merry Hell! A Dane with the Canadians*. London: Jarrolds. N.d. Pp. 254. (7/6.)

An exceptionally vivid description of the Canadian soldiers in training and action during the Great War, written by a Dane who served with the Canadian forces and won the Victoria Cross. With many illustrations.



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An excellent résumé of the political, economic, financial, and social relations between France and Canada during the last half-century.

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An outline of the negotiations between Canada and the United States dealing with the exportation of liquor from Canada across the border.

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A discussion of Canadian-American relations.

### III. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

#### (1) The Maritime Provinces

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An outline of Nova Scotia's scientific past with sketches of Thomas McCulloch, John William Dawson, J. Gordon MacGregor, and with an account of the Nova Scotia Institute of Science.

MACKINNON, IAN F. *Settlements and churches in Nova Scotia, 1749-1776*. Montreal: Walker Press. [1930.] Pp. x, 111.

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#### (2) The Province of Quebec

*Inventaire des registres de l'état civil du district de Montmagny conservés au palais de justice de Montmagny* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, septembre, 1930, pp. 562-563).

An inventory of registers of the district of Montmagny.

KINDLE, DEWARD M. *Colonization in Quebec* (Canadian geographical journal, September, 1930, pp. 417-439).

A popular, illustrated account of the settlement of Quebec, together with a description of the province and its inhabitants.

LAPALICE, O. *Les pierres angulaires de la chapelle de N.-D.-de-Bonsecours*, à Montréal (Bulletin des recherches historiques, août, 1930, pp. 499-505).

A history of the building of the chapel of N.-D.-de-Bonsecours at Montreal.

— *Les terrains Bonsecours* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, septembre, 1930, pp. 519-527).

A history of Bonsecours in Montreal.

MACKAY, DOUGLAS. *Some fresh glimpses of a familiar river* (Canadian geographical journal, August, 1930, pp. 305-315).

An illustrated description of the St. Lawrence River.

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A handbook of colonization, with illustrations, statistics, and a map.

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Bibliothèques d'autrefois à Montréal* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, octobre, 1930, pp. 589-594).

A history of libraries in Montreal in the nineteenth century.

— *Charlatans notoires* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, septembre, 1930, pp. 517-518).

A note on some notorious quacks of Montreal.

### (3) The Province of Ontario

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A genealogical record together with a large store of interesting items and anecdotes connected with the various families.

*Fort Wellington, Prescott, Ontario* (Historic sites series, number 7.) Ottawa: Department of the Interior. N.d. Pp. 35.

A guide to Fort Wellington together with a brief history of the famous fort and of other historic sites in its immediate vicinity along the St. Lawrence River.

### (4) The Western Provinces

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A paper on the Far North-West of Canada, read before the Société de Géographie on February 28, 1930.

CAUTLEY, R. W. *Jasper national park* (Canadian geographical journal, October, 1930, pp. 467-480).

A descriptive article with coloured illustrations.

FRÉMONT, DONATIEN. *Mgr Taché et la naissance du Manitoba*. Winnipeg: La Liberté. 1930. Pp. 47.

A chapter in the history of Manitoba, including the events of the momentous years 1869-1870, with an account of Mgr Taché's part in the history of the North-West.

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A book of short stories and sketches written over twenty years ago by a native of Manitoba.

HAGUE, REECE H. *Where B.C. ends and Alaska begins* (Canadian geographical journal, September, 1930, pp. 403-415).

An historical description of the British Columbian-Alaskan border.

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A survey of the factors peculiar to the spread of industrialism as they are shown in western Canada.

KINDLE, E. M. *The geological story of Jasper Park, Alberta, Canada*. Ottawa: Department of the Interior. N.d. Pp. 48.

An illustrated, geological monograph.

TALBOT, R. A. *H B C posts, Keewatin district*: No. 16—*The Pas post* (Beaver, September, 1930, p. 60).

A note on the post of The Pas on the south bank of the Saskatchewan River at the junction of the Saskatchewan and Pas Rivers.

WATSON, ROBERT. *A boy of the great north west*. Ottawa: Graphic Publishers. 1930. Pp. 259.

The rousing experiences of a young Canadian among cowboys, hunters, trappers, fur-traders, fishermen, and Indians.

WHITELEY, A. S. *Population in the Prairie Provinces* (Dalhousie review, July, 1930, pp. 215-219).

The writer traces the movement of peoples on the Prairie Provinces during the years 1921-1926, and arrives at the conclusion that the need for immigration in Canada is far less urgent than it appeared a decade or so ago.

YONEMURA, HOZUMI. *Japanese fishermen in British Columbia and British fair-play*. (Canadian forum, July, 1930, p. 357).

A protest against the governmental policy of discrimination against fishermen of Oriental ancestry in British Columbia.

#### IV. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS, AND STATISTICS

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A few of the salient features of the settlement of Canada's lands.

BELL, J. MACKINTOSH. *What are Canadians making of their country?* (Queen's quarterly, Summer, 1930, pp. 437-445).

A stock-taking of Canada's natural resources and a plea that the Dominion safeguard her natural and economic prosperity.

BISHOP, Captain R. P. *Mackenzie's rock: With a map showing the course followed by the explorer from Bella Coola, B.C., to the rock, and illustrated with views along the route*. Introduction and notes by His Honour Judge HOWAY. (Historic site series, no. 6.) Ottawa: Department of the Interior. N.d. Pp. 30.

The official report of Captain Bishop's effort to locate the rock which was the westernmost point reached by Mackenzie.

BURWASH, Major L. T. *Coronation Gulf copper deposits*. Ottawa: Department of the Interior. 1930. Pp. 41.

The report of an inspection of the known mineralized areas in Coronation Gulf and Bathurst Inlet districts, 1928-29.

CAMERON, D. ROY. *Green gold* (Canadian geographical journal, September, 1930, pp. 379-401).

An estimate of Canada's forests and the part they have played and may play in her national life.

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Reviewed on page 367.

LECKIE, Colonel JOHN E. *Exploring Hudson's Bay by air* (Canadian Military Institute, selected papers from the transactions of the Institute, 1928-29, pp. 37-46).

A lecture on exploration in the far north, with an introduction by Colonel Kirkpatrick.

LOUNSBURY, R. G. *Yankee trade at Newfoundland* (New England quarterly, October, 1930, pp. 607-626).

A review of the trade between Newfoundland and New England which was of great significance in the development of Newfoundland and of its fishery.

LOWER, R. M. *The case against immigration* (Queen's quarterly, Summer, 1930, pp. 557-574).

A brief résumé of the history of population in Canada and a statement of the case against immigration.

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*National parks of Canada: Report of the commissioner, year ended March 31, 1929*. Ottawa: Department of the Interior. 1930. Pp. 43.

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NORDEGG, MARTIN. *The fuel problem of Canada*. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1930. Pp. x, 155. (\$1.50.)

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O'NEIL, MARION. *The maritime activities of the North West Company, 1813-1821* (Washington historical quarterly, October, 1930, pp. 243-267).

The story of the sea-faring of the Nor' Westers, a chapter in the history of the trans-Pacific trade which centred in Canton, China.

PYKE, MAGNUS. *"Go west, young man, go west"*. Ottawa: Graphic Publishers. 1930. Pp. 303. (\$2.00.)

The story of a young Englishman who goes to western Canada. The question raised by the book is: Is there employment for the agricultural worker in western Canada?

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A brief answer to Mr. Moulton, Mr. Morgan, and Mr. Lee. See CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, September, 1930, page 294.

VARDON, ROGER. *English bloods*. Ottawa: Graphic Publishers. 1930. Pp. 227. (\$2.00.)

The autobiographical account of the experiences of a young English "remittance man" sent to Ontario to learn how to farm in Canada.

WATSON, ROBERT. *The story of Norway House* (Canadian geographical journal, August, 1930, pp. 291-303).

Investigations of the history and locations of a Hudson's Bay Company post.

## V. EDUCATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS HISTORY

CHOWN, Rev. S. D. *The story of church union in Canada*. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1930. Pp. xv, 156.

To be reviewed later.

JENKINS, CLAUDE and MACKENZIE, K. D. *Episcopacy ancient and modern*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. New York and Toronto: Macmillan. [1930.] Pp. xxx, 412. (16/6.)

To be reviewed later.

LEWIS, ADA LEIGH. *The life of John Travers Lewis, D.D., first archbishop of Ontario*. London: Skeffington and Son, Ltd. [1930.] Pp. xix, 14. (5s.)

To be reviewed later.

MADILL, A. J. *History of agricultural education in Ontario*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1930. Pp. 264. (\$2.00.)

To be reviewed later.

OLIVER, EDMUND H. *The winning of the frontier*. Toronto: United Church Publishing House. 1930. Pp. xii, 271. (\$1.00.)

To be reviewed later.

## VI. ART AND LITERATURE

BENSON, NATHANIEL A. (ed.). *Modern Canadian poetry*. Ottawa: Graphic Publishers. 1930. Pp. 227.

An interesting collection of brief poems written by twenty Canadian poets all of whom are under the age of thirty-five. With an introduction by the editor.

ELSON, JOHN MEBOURNE. *William Douw Lighthall* (Canadian bookman, August, 1930, pp. 151-154).

The life of Dr. Lighthall, with a bibliography of his works.

FAUTEUX, EGIDIUS. *The introduction of printing into Canada*. Montreal: Rolland Paper Company. 1929. Pp. 38, 22, 26, 26, 29, 36.

Reviewed on page 344.

FOSBERY, ERNEST. *Landscape painting in Canada* (Canadian geographical journal, August, 1930, pp. 279-289).

A well-illustrated article on Canadian landscape painters.

*Glossaire du parler français au Canada*. Québec: L'Action Sociale. 1930. Pp. xix, 709. (\$8.00.)

An excellent glossary of the French-Canadian language, prepared by the Société du parler français au Canada.

GODENRATH, PERCY F. (comp.). *Catalogue of the Manoir Richelieu collection of Canadiana*. Canada Steamship Lines. 1930. Pp. 73.

A catalogue of the Manoir Richelieu collection of rare prints, engravings, lithographs, water colours, and oil paintings relating to Canadian history. With biographical and explanatory notes.

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Le miniaturiste Ramage* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, août, 1930, pp. 475-476).

Information concerning John Ramage, a miniature painter of the end of the eighteenth century.

ROY, CAMILLE. *Histoire de la littérature canadienne*. Québec: L'Action Sociale. 1930. Pp. 310.

To be reviewed later.

SCOTT, L'ABBÉ. *Nos anciens historiographes et autres études d'histoire canadienne*. Lévis: La Cie de Publication de Lévis. 1930. Pp. ix, 347.

To be reviewed later.

## VII. ETHNOLOGY, ANTHROPOLOGY, AND ARCHÆOLOGY

(Contributed by Professor T. F. McIlwraith.)

ARENAGEW, E. *Cree trickster tales* (Journal of American folk-lore, vol. XLII, no. 166, October-December, 1929, pp. 309-353).

Tales of a marvellously cunning one, sometimes human, sometimes animal, who lived in the distant past and delighted in pranks, are wide-spread in North America. Among the Plains Cree of Alberta the central figure is Wesakaychak around whom has clustered a cycle of stories including that of the magic flight, the capture of the sun, the blindfold dance, and other well-known themes. Not at all omnipotent, his exploits, whether successful or not, never fail to interest the Indian hearers and, incidentally, throw considerable light on native psychology. This extensive collection, though not recorded in text, is an accurate record of the Cree versions of the trickster's adventures.

ALLARD, E. *Notes on the Kaska and upper Liard Indians* (Primitive man, vol. II, nos. 1 and 2, January and April, 1929, pp. 24-26).

The Kaska of the Dease River and their neighbours of the upper Liard River, British Columbia, are both Athapaskan-speaking groups, closely akin to the Sikanni (Sekani). Both are nomadic hunters, with little organized chieftainship; socially they are divided into exogamic units having animal affiliations.

*Anthropological work in Alaska* (American journal of physical anthropology, vol. XIII, no. 3, October-December, 1929, p. 501).

Two expeditions of the United States National Museum to Alaska resulted in the measurement and photography of over two hundred natives, the obtaining of over one hundred skeletons, and the collection of implements from various ancient sites none of which, however, were of geological antiquity.

BANTING, F. G. *With the Arctic patrol* (Canadian geographical journal, vol. I, no. 1, May, 1930, pp. 19-30).

A trip with the annual supply and relief ship sent by the Canadian government to posts along the eastern part of the Arctic seaboard gave the author an opportunity of seeing something of the Eskimo under modern conditions. The contrast to their ancient mode of life is emphasized in this article.

BARBEAU, MARIUS. *An Indian paradise lost* (Canadian geographical journal, vol. I, no. 2, June, 1930, pp. 133-148).

Like so many peoples in all parts of the world, the Gitksan of northern British Columbia cherish traditions of a Golden Age when their ancestors lived in a veritable Eden, located at Temlaham, near Hazelton, on the Skeena. Human sins and frailties led to the disruption of this paradise, after which the survivors, forced to scatter to other sites, experienced a chain of vicissitudes, which are remembered in the folk-lore of the Indians of to-day. Incidents of the past, some clearly imaginative, others probably historical, are commemorated by designs on totem-poles. Excellent photographs of Indian graphic art, with explanations of the symbolism involved, illustrate this article.

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*Totem poles: A recent native art of the northwest coast of America* (Geographical review, April, 1930, pp. 258-272).

Although totem-poles are probably the best known, and undoubtedly the most spectacular, examples of aboriginal Canadian craftsmanship, the first detailed study on a large scale of the art *motifs* and their significance was made by the author on the Nass and Skeena Rivers. The obtaining of metal tools from European



and Asiatic sources made it possible for the Indians to carve large tree-trunks so that heraldic designs, which are the essence of the figures depicted, spread from the painted house-front to the true totem-pole. This evolution is attested by native tradition and the accounts of early explorers as well as by analysis of the art technique itself. The author believes that the practice originated among the Nisrae of the Nass River.

- BARBEAU, MARIUS *Totem poles of the Gitksan, upper Skeena River, British Columbia.* (National Museum of Canada, bulletin 61, anthropological series 12.) Ottawa: 1929. Pp. viii, 276; 33 plates.

To be reviewed later.

- BÈCLARD-D'HARCOURT, MARGUERITE. *Le système pentaphone dans les chants des Copper-Eskimos* (Atti del XXII Congresso Internazionale degli Americanisti, Roma, Settembre, 1926, vol. II, pp. 15-22).

The material for this study consists of songs collected by Jenness among the Copper Eskimo and transcribed by Helen H. Roberts. They are clearly and accurately recorded, but the analysis suffers from an attempt to employ European standards. Judged by the pentaphone scale, the majority of the songs are found to be modulated or slightly irregular, wherein they resemble the songs of certain Indian tribes. Musical studies of this type present opportunities for ethnological comparisons.

- BIRKET-SMITH, KAJ. *The Caribou Eskimos: Material and social life and their cultural position.* I. Descriptive part. II. Analytical part. (Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-24, vol. V, parts I and II). Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag. 1929. Pp. 310, 116 illustrations, 1 map; 420, 5 illustrations.

To be reviewed later.

- *Five hundred Eskimo words.* (Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-24, vol. III, no. 3). Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag. 1928. Pp. 64.

Although linguistic investigation was not included in the original plans of the Fifth Thule Expedition, the author, realizing the desirability of such research both from the point of view of philology and of throwing light on ethnological matters, carefully recorded some five hundred Central Eskimo words. The selection was based on anthropological rather than phonetic grounds. To facilitate comparison the terms are printed in conjunction with their parallels from West Greenland, and it is clear that considerable data have been gained for a study of the history of the Eskimo language.

- *Über die Herkunft der Eskimos und ihre Stellung in der zirkumpolaren Kulturentwicklung* (Anthropos, band XXV, heft 1, 2, Jänner-April, 1930, pp. 3-23).

Although the Eskimo have long been known to Europeans, it is only recently that sufficient data have accumulated for an exhaustive analysis of their history. They seem originally to have been an inland hunting people, similar to the Caribou Eskimo of to-day, some of whom migrated to the Arctic coast and there developed new traits under the stimulus of dependence upon the seal. Further modifications arose in certain areas, especially as the result of contact with the north-west coast Indians; the palimpsest is further complicated by later movements with archaic culture from the Barren Grounds to the coast. The author indicates four layers of Eskimo culture, giving the characteristics of each. Broader affinities are indicated with some of the Indian tribes.

BLACKWOOD, BEATRICE. *Racial differences in skin-colour as recorded by the colour top* (Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. LX, January-June, 1930, pp. 137-168).

One method of accurately recording skin pigmentation is by matching the surface with a colour top, the tint produced in the latter being capable of mathematical expression. This method was applied to a number of American Indians; the results, which confirm ocular impressions, show considerable variation in different localities, provide a clue to racial admixture, and suggest a means of measuring the effects of sun tanning and of pigmentary alteration with increasing age.

BLOOMFIELD, LEONARD. *The Plains Cree language* (Atti del XXII Congresso Internazionale degli Americanisti, Roma, Settembre, 1926, vol. II, pp. 427-431).

Plains Cree, spoken on various reserves in Saskatchewan, is an Algonkian language of which the exact position within the stock has not been completely worked out. This article summarizes the inflexional grammatical processes, the work being based on an extensive series of texts.

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*The story of Bad Owl* (Atti del XXII Congresso Internazionale degli Americanisti, Roma, Settembre, 1926, vol. II, pp. 23-34).

The difficulty of understanding primitive peoples is largely due to the fact that their actions are swayed by fear of the supernatural, or of supernaturally endowed individuals, to an extent unrecognized by most white men. An incident in the life of a Plains Cree illustrates this point. The author first gives the version of a white observer, who regarded the facts as inexplicable, and then an Indian account. The basis of the action depended upon fear of a shaman who, once his efforts had proved unsuccessful, ceased to have influence among his people.

BOAS, FRANZ. *Die Ausdrücke für einige religiöse Begriffe der Kwakiutl Indianer* (Festschrift Carl Meinhof, Hamburg, 1927, pp. 386-392).

BURWASH, L. T. *Across Arctic Canada* (Geographical journal, vol. LXXIV, no. 6, December, 1929, pp. 553-568).

In this description of an expedition from the Mackenzie delta to Hudson Bay are included a number of observations on the Eskimo encountered *en route*.

BUSHNELL, DAVID, I., Jr. *Mounds and other ancient earthworks of the United States* (Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, publication 2981, 1929, pp. 663-685).

Eastward from the Mississippi valley in southern Canada and the United States there are found various types of earthworks raised by the Indians. Among the most important are coastal shell heaps of accidental accumulation, grave tumuli erected by several tribes, embankments raised for protection by the Iroquois, complex structures for ceremonial purposes in Ohio, and curious effigy mounds in the upper Mississippi valley. Archaeology proves that some types were contemporary with the white man whereas others were definitely prehistoric.

CAPITAN, L. *L'homme paléolithique dans l'Amérique du Nord* (Atti del XXII Congresso Internazionale degli Americanisti, Roma, Settembre, 1926, vol. I, pp. 273-275).

Citing parallel methods in Europe, the author believes that the evidence of positive stratigraphy, of palæontology, and of the types of artifacts discovered *in situ* proves the presence in America of man during the Ice Age.

COLLINS, HENRY B., Jr. *The ancient Eskimo culture of northwestern Alaska* (Explorations and field-work of the Smithsonian Institution in 1928, Smithsonian Institution publication 3011, 1929, pp. 141-150).

On one of the Punuk Islands near St. Lawrence Island a large kitchen-midden

was excavated, throwing considerable light on the history of the Eskimo. The lower layers contained specimens which were archaic, but not crude, and often decorated with graceful designs. The antiquity of the site is proved both by the accumulation of rubbish and by the subsidence of the land since occupation. Other work confirms the view that the early Bering Strait Eskimo were highly specialized, and may have played a dominant part in the shaping of culture throughout the whole Eskimo area.

COLLINS, HENRY B., Jr. *Prehistoric art of the Alaskan Eskimo*. (Smithsonian miscellaneous collections, vol. LXXXI, no. 14.) Washington: Smithsonian Institution, November 14, 1929. Pp. 52; 24 plates.

This scientific résumé of archaeological work on St. Lawrence and Punuk Islands, together with illustrations of comparable specimens, indicates the course of Eskimo cultural and artistic evolution in Alaska. The most ancient stratum, represented by some thirty pieces of carved walrus ivory, shows a graceful art, characterized by simple, flowing curvilinear decoration, utterly unlike modern Eskimo work. A transition from one to the other, however, is shown in excavations at a long occupied site on St. Lawrence Island, indicating the local growth of Alaskan art. The archaic Thule culture of northern Canada has affinities with Alaska, but not with the lowest level, which must rank accordingly as the oldest known Eskimo culture. Even it, however, is clearly not primitive, although its place of development is not yet known.

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*Prehistoric Eskimo culture of Alaska* (Explorations and field-work of the Smithsonian Institution in 1929, Smithsonian Institution publication 3060, 1930, pp. 147-156).

Successive archaeological investigations on the shores of Bering Strait have thrown little light on the original peopling of America, but have produced definite results respecting the development of Eskimo culture in that area. Three distinct layers are represented, of which the oldest, characterized by flowing curvilinear art, is in some respects the most advanced. This preliminary report of excavations on St. Lawrence Island and at Point Hope summarizes in popular form some of the general conclusions.

COOPER, JOHN M. *Some notes on the Waswanipi* (Atti del XXII Congresso Internazionale degli Americanisti, Roma, Settembre, 1926, vol. II, pp. 459-461).

The Waswanipi are among the least known of the eastern Algonkians, consequently even small items of information are of value. They are exclusively hunters, with the usual type of family hunting areas, and animals appear to be important in their religious or magical rituals; linguistically they are closely akin to the Montagnais.

DARLINGTON, H. S. *The probable origin of some North American dice games* (Anthropos, band XXV, heft 1, 2, Jänner-April, 1930, pp. 303-310).

The author believes that most of the Indian dice or stick games are degenerate forms of Central American religious rituals pertaining to the calendar. The common number of the tallies, fifty-two, corresponds to the fifty-two year period of perpetuation of the sacred fire among the Aztecs, and the four marked sticks, also of common occurrence, represent the initial year of each quarter of this space. The frequent naming of the counters after stars supports this hypothesis.

DAVIDSON, D. SUTHERLAND. *The family hunting territories of the Grand Lake Victoria Indians* (Atti del XXII Congresso Internazionale degli Americanisti, Roma, Settembre, 1926, vol. II, pp. 69-95).

Like the other northern Algonkians, the Indians of Grand Lake Victoria in

the province of Quebec are exclusively hunters. The effects of this economic dependence are shown in both family and band life, and especially in the system of land tenure. Each man owns a well recognized, though not clearly demarked area, upon which trespassing is a serious offence. These areas are shown on a map, together with data on their inheritance, giving a concrete example of primitive land tenure. Incursions of white trappers have caused very serious economic difficulties among the members of this band.

- DENBY, CHARLES. *Meaning of the name Huron as applied to the Huron Indians* (Michigan history magazine, vol. XIII, no. 3, July, 1929, pp. 436-442).

Several derivations have been suggested for the word *Huron*, the French term for the Wendat (Ouendat or Wyandot) of Ontario, which has become the customary designation of the tribe. The author believes that it was first applied with reference to their frizzled head-dresses which reminded some Frenchman of a decorated boar's head (*hure*), but probably passed into popular speech as *Huron* because that form already existed in the language with the significance of *unkempt knave*.

- DENNIS, ELSIE FRANCES. *Indian slavery in Pacific northwest* (Oregon historical quarterly, vol. XXXI, no. 1, March, 1930, pp. 69-81; vol. XXXI, no. 2, June, 1930, pp. 181-195; and vol. XXXI, no. 3, September, 1930, pp. 285-296).

A series of extracts is given from various early writers concerning slaves among the Indians of the Pacific coast, together with estimates of their number and notes on their treatment. No reference is made to modern investigations of the subject.

- DENSMORE, FRANCES. *Chippewa customs*. (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, bulletin 86.) Washington: Government Printing Office. 1929. Pp. xii, 204.

Reviewed on page. 79.

- EMMONS, G. T. *The art of the northwest coast Indians* (Natural history, vol. XXX, no. 3, May-June, 1930, pp. 282-292).

A distinctive feature of north-west coast art is the decoration, primarily for social or religious purposes, of many types of object, from spoons to enormous totem-poles. It was in the middle of the last century that this art, both in painting and carving, reached its peak, corresponding to the growing wealth and arrogance of the chiefs. The American Museum of Natural History possesses two painted boards from this period of which the symbolism is described in this article.

- FANG-KUEI, LI. *A study of Sarcee verb-stems* (International journal of American linguistics, vol. VI, no. 1, March, 1930, pp. 3-27).

Sarcee, the language of the Indians of the same name resident near Calgary, belongs to the Athapaskan stock and is characterized, among other features, by the presence of pitch as a morphological feature. Tense, using the term in its widest sense, is indicated by changes of the verb-stem which are exhaustively analysed in this study. A list of the stems themselves is appended.

- FEHÉR, J. *Hit és vallás az Amerikai Indiánoknál* (A Földgömb, vol. I, no. 1, 1929, pp. 7-10).

The American Indian appears to be fundamentally pantheistic in his religious beliefs, although a single deity may be superior in rank. Totemism in North America is essentially religious, the clan animals being regarded as manifestations of an all-pervading power.

- FOX, GEORGE R. *Isle Royale expedition* (Michigan history magazine, vol. XIII, no. 2, April, 1929, pp. 308-323).

A large proportion of the copper used by the Indians of eastern North America

at the time of European discovery came from Isle Royale, Michigan. Archaeological investigations of the island show considerable skill on the part of the ancient miners but nothing indicative of non-American influence. Fragments of pottery and a few points suggest that at least temporary settlements were made on the island although tradition indicates that the Indians lived on the Ontario shore and crossed to Isle Royale only after the performance of propitiatory rites.

- GAGNON, A. *Note sur l'unité d'origine ou la pluralité des races indigènes américaines* (Atti del XXII Congresso Internazionale degli Americanisti, Roma, Settembre, 1926, vol. I, pp. 297-301).

Preconceived opinions, supported with extreme dogmatism, have tended to give undue weight to the general similarities of physical characteristics among the American Indians. In reality, these similarities are more apparent than real, and are less important than the many observable differences in type. Heterogeneity of origin is postulated, and the probable influence is stressed of ship-wrecked sailors on both the culture and the physique of the aborigines.

- GAINES, RUTH. *Books on Indians—1929* (Indian notes, vol. VII, no. 2, April, 1930, pp. 207-236).

Though not pretending to be exhaustive, even of publications in English, this list is of considerable value. The material listed contains not only strictly anthropological works, but history, travel, juvenile books, fiction, and other writings of which the Indian is the central theme; the arrangement is according to regions as well as subjects.

- GODDARD, PLINY EARLE. *Similarities and diversities within Athapaskan linguistic stocks* (Atti del XXII Congresso Internazionale degli Americanisti, Roma, Settembre, 1926, vol. II, pp. 489-494).

Athapaskan languages are spoken widely in the North-West Territories and the Yukon, in Oregon and northern California, and in the south-west. Both the resemblances, which are obvious, and the differences in the dialects of these three main areas are analysed with respect to phonetics, etymology, and morphology. Closer study of this last aspect would throw light on relations between cognate tribes, and on the principles of linguistic growth which must be understood more fully than is now the case if relationship with alien stocks is to be proved.

- GRANT, J. C. BOILEAU. *Anthropometry of the Cree and Saulteaux Indians in northeastern Manitoba*. (National Museum of Canada, bulletin 59, anthropological series 13.) Ottawa: 1929. Pp. iv, 73; 5 plates.

This is an important contribution to the anthropometry of Canada, comprising measurements of four hundred and thirty-four Indians, sixty-five per cent. of the population, in the vicinity of Island Lake, Gods Lake, and Oxford House, north-east of Lake Winnipeg. The individuals included Cree and Saulteaux as well as crosses between the two, and crosses with Europeans. In addition to characteristics such as hair and eye colour, recordable by observation, sixteen somatological measurements were taken. The results are given in detail as well as by charts showing the frequency distribution, and comparisons are made with the Sioux, the nearest tribe from which similar data are available.

- GUTHE, CARL E. (ed.). *Archaeological field work in North America during 1929* (American anthropologist, vol. XXXII, no. 2, April, 1930, pp. 342-374).

The annual survey of archaeological work in America prepared by a committee of the National Research Council includes a summary of excavations in Newfoundland.

HADDON, KATHLEEN (Mrs. O. H. T. RISHBETH). *Artists in string*. With a foreword by Professor J. L. MYRES. London: Methuen and Co. 1930. Pp. x, 174.

An earlier volume by the same author, *Cat's cradles from many lands* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1911) introduced to many the fascinating pastime of making string figures. But, as Miss Haddon pointed out at that time, these games have an anthropological value quite apart from the interest of their actual construction; they serve as clues—important on account of their very unpretentiousness—to the spread of culture, and also illustrate in their themes the psychology of their makers. It is with this last aspect of the subject that the author now deals particularly. Choosing five widely separated peoples, among them the Eskimo, she illustrates their string figures, analysing the depictions and showing their relation to the environment and to the interests of the makers. It is a stimulating method of approach and one which serves to crystallize the information available on cat's cradles.

HALLOWELL, A. IRVING. *Recent changes in the kinship terminology of the St. Francis Abenaki* (Atti del XXII Congresso Internazionale degli Americanisti, Roma, Settembre, 1926, vol. II, pp. 97-145).

Anthropologists have stressed the importance of kinship terminology as reflecting both the present social life of a community, and as preserving archaic expressions illustrative of former social organization. An opportunity to test this latter hypothesis historically was presented by the Abenaki, a composite group, on the St. Francis River, Quebec. About 1690 Rasle began a dictionary of the language which, with studies at intermediate periods, makes it possible to compare their kinship terminology over a period of two hundred and forty years. Both lexical and pattern changes have been carefully analysed with the aid of well-informed natives, and the results tabulated. Linguistic alterations appear to be due to contact and blending with related Algonkian peoples; alterations in the application of terms show white influence rather than changes in social organization.

HEWITT, J. N. B. *The culture of the Indians of eastern Canada* (Explorations and field-work of the Smithsonian Institution in 1928, Smithsonian Institution publication 3011, 1929, pp. 179-182).

Near Quebec, Montreal, and Brantford live groups of Iroquois, from whom a certain amount of ancestral lore can still be obtained. This preliminary account of field-work records a few items of religious beliefs and rituals, as well as a statement of the linguistic work accomplished.

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*The "League of Nations" of the Iroquois Indians in Canada* (Explorations and field-work of the Smithsonian Institution in 1929, Smithsonian Institution publication 3060, 1930, pp. 201-206).

In carrying out linguistic investigations for the Bureau of American Ethnology, the author spent considerable time on the Iroquois Reservation near Brantford. A lengthy Onondaga text was revised, an example of Mohawk diction was recorded, and a list of Tuscarora proper names obtained. A description is given of a string of wampum, with the significance attached to each cord.

HEYE, GEORGE G. *Wampum collection* (Indian notes, vol. VII, no. 3, July, 1930, pp. 320-324).

This is a brief description of several Mohawk wampum belts, with explanation of the significance of the designs.



HILL-TOUT, CHARLES. *The great Fraser midden* (Museum and art notes, vol. V, no. 3, September, 1930, pp. 75-83).

One of the largest kitchen-middens in the world was situated within the city limits of Vancouver where it formerly stretched for 1,400 feet along an old branch of the Fraser River. Composed almost entirely of clam and mussel shells, it must have been formed at a period when the delta of the river was considerably east of its present mouth. This fact, in conjunction with the age of trees growing upon the deposit and the time necessary for the accumulation of four and one half acres of shell, suggests that at least two thousand years must have elapsed since the beginning of the mound. Archaeological investigations show two physical types, a long-headed form preceding a broad-headed one similar to the modern Salish.

*Indian masks and what they signify* (Museum and art notes, vol. IV, no. 3, September, 1929, pp. 91-93).

After describing an elaborate Tsimshian mask recently obtained by the Vancouver City Museum and Art Gallery, the author writes on the totemism of the west coast tribes, a form of belief which has greatly influenced their art.

HOFFMAN, FREDERICK L. *Are the Indians dying out?* (American journal of public health, vol. XX, no. 6, June, 1930, pp. 609-614).

Owing to a variety of causes, estimates of the Indian population of the United States are little better than scientific conjectures. Moreover, there is the question of racial admixture; is a "race" dying if the full-bloods are declining while the half-bloods increase? The author believes that health conditions among the Indians are improving, and that the population is holding its own.

HRDLICKA, ALES. *The ancient and modern inhabitants of the Yukon* (Explorations and field-work of the Smithsonian Institution in 1929, Smithsonian Institution publication 3060, 1930, pp. 137-146).

In the course of an anthropological expedition down the Yukon it was possible to make fairly intensive investigations from Fort Yukon to the mouth. Two hundred natives were measured, and collections made of skeletal and archaeological material. Both racially and culturally there is no clear line of demarcation between the Eskimo of the lower river and the Indians (of Athapaskan stock) of the middle stretch.

JEANÇON, JEAN ALLARD, and DOUGLAS, F. H. *Northwest coast Indians* (Denver Art Museum, Denver, 1930).

This is an informative account prepared for the general visitor to the Denver Art Museum.

JEFFERYS, CHARLES W. *Dramatic episodes in Canada's story*. Toronto: Star Printing and Publishing Co. 1930. Pp. 74.

The incidents depicted in the sixteen drawings which comprise this volume have been chosen principally from the early history of Canada and in most of them Indians figure prominently. The careful representation of their appearance, clothing, and equipment indicates careful study on the part of the artist, together with an appreciation of the importance of accuracy in the pictorial teaching of history. A brief explanatory note accompanies each drawing.

JENNESS, D. *The ancient education of a Carrier Indian* (National Museum of Canada bulletin 62, annual report for 1928, Ottawa, 1929, pp. 22-27).

The Carrier, an Athapaskan-speaking tribe, are presumed to have reached their present location in northern British Columbia, around the upper valleys of the Fraser, Nechako, and Skeena Rivers, from the eastern side of the Rocky Mountains. Contact with the coastal peoples revolutionized their simple culture

and led to a systematization of their social and religious beliefs. This in turn modified methods of education and produced two types; the secular dealt with the practical occupations of the people, the religious with all matters respecting supernatural contacts and ritual observances, a type of teaching in which folk-lore played an important part. Contact with Europeans has resulted in the abandonment of old ways and racial decline.

JENNESS, D. *The ethnical background [of Canada and Newfoundland]* (The Cambridge History of the British Empire, 1930, vol. VI, pp. 9-16).

An admirable and well-balanced summary is here given of the ethnology of Canada. The physical, linguistic, political, and cultural characteristics of the natives are described, and comments made upon the effects of European contact.

JOHNSON, FREDERICK. *An Algonkian band at Lac Barrière, province of Quebec* (Indian notes, vol. VII, no. 1, January, 1930, pp. 27-39).

A small Algonkian-speaking band at Lac Barrière, one hundred and forty miles north of Maniwaki, Quebec, has general affinities with the northern tribes. Their material culture is scanty, and their political organization is simple, based upon the small hunting unit.

KIDD, G. E. *A case of primitive trephining* (Museum and art notes, vol. V, no. 3, September, 1930, pp. 85-87).

A trephined skull was recently dug from the Eburne kitchen-midden on the north bank of the Fraser River, not far from its mouth. In view of the fact that it was five feet below the surface one may postulate, with due recognition that it is only an hypothesis, an antiquity of a thousand years. The skull, which is of a young male adult, has two occipital incisions; one shows evidence of healing, the other was not completed, and it may be assumed that the patient died under the operation. Pathological peculiarities of the cranium indicate the presence of a tumor which may have been the reason for trephining.

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*The Mongolian spot* (Museum and art notes, vol. V, no. 1, March, 1930, p. 13).

The Mongol spot is an area of blue-black pigmentation occurring commonly on the lower back of new-born Mongol and Mongoloid infants. Its frequent appearance among the Bella Bella Indians of British Columbia is noted.

KRIEGER, HERBERT W. *American Indian costumes in the United States National Museum* (Annual report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, publication 2981, 1929, pp. 623-661).

Contrary to popular belief, the clothing and costume ornamentation of the American Indians differed enormously in various parts of the continent. In this article are described the types found throughout Canada and the United States prior to the spread of the white man's garb, with accounts of the weaving and the sewing techniques involved. Thirty-six plates of specimens and groups in the United States National Museum increase the attractiveness and utility of the work.

LANDMAN, JACOB HENRY. *Primitive law, evolution, and Sir Henry Maine* (Michigan law review, vol. XXVIII, no. 4, February, 1930, pp. 404-425).

The thesis held by Sir Henry Maine of orderly evolution in primitive law is no longer tenable in the light of ethnological research. Illustrations drawn largely from Indian tribes show that legal progress is the result of environment and of cultural diffusion rather than of growth from within.

McCLINTOCK, WALTER. *The tragedy of the Blackfoot*. (Southwest Museum papers, no. 3.) Los Angeles: Southwest Museum, Highland Park. April, 1930. Pp. 53.

The hardships and trials of the Blackfoot in meeting the requirements of the white man's culture are sympathetically recorded, together with the significance of many of their passing rituals. Although dealing specifically with the branch of the tribe in Montana, the main features are equally applicable to those living in Alberta.

MCCRACKEN, HAROLD. *A human bridge to Asia* (World's work, December, 1929, pp. 66-71).

On the summit of an almost inaccessible islet near Unalaska Island, a large sarcophagus was discovered containing four artificially preserved bodies. The central figure, undoubtedly that of a chief, was wrapped in finely woven mats and covered with a wooden framework, remarkable in a woodless land. This semi-popular account describes an important archaeological discovery which may throw light on prehistoric cultural contacts between Asia and America.

McILWRAITH, T. F. *The progress of anthropology in Canada* (CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, vol. XI, no. 2, June, 1930, pp. 132-150).

After referring briefly to the different phases through which the study of anthropology in Canada has passed, the author describes our present knowledge of various aspects of the subject in the Dominion, citing a considerable number of references.

MACLEOD, WILLIAM CHRISTIE. *The sun dials and other time-route recorders of the northern woodlands and the northwest coast* (American anthropologist, vol. XXXII, no. 3, part 1, July-September, 1930, pp. 577-578).

The occurrence is noted among the Naskapi of Labrador, the Ojibway of western Ontario, and the Bella Coola of British Columbia of time recording by noting the deviation of the shadow from a fixed upright. The author raises the question of independent origin or of cultural influence.

MATHIASSEN, THERKEL. *Material culture of the Iglulik Eskimos*. (Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition 1921-24, vol. VI, no. 1.) Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag. 1928. Pp. 249.

To be reviewed later.

Spørgsmaalet om Eskimokulturens Oprindelse (Geografisk tidsskrift, vol. XXXII, nos. 2-3, June-September, 1929, pp. 116-126).

Basing his conclusions primarily upon archaeology, the author contends that the culture of the Caribou Eskimo must have been derived from coastal dwellers. This is contrary to the views of Birket-Smith, whose arguments, based upon ethnological grounds he considers critically.

Det vingede Naalehus (Geografisk tidsskrift, vol. XXXII, no. 1, March, 1929, pp. 15-22).

A type of Eskimo needle-case consists of a bone cylinder with expanded flanges. Near Point Barrow, at any rate, this form, usually known as the "winged" case, seems to have been derived from realistic portraiture of the human body.

MENDES-CORRÊA, A. A. *Nouvelle hypothèse sur le peuplement primitif de l'Amérique du Sud* (Atti del XXII Congresso Internazionale degli Americanisti, Roma, Settembre, 1926, vol. I, pp. 97-118).

The diversity of physical characteristics found among the American Indians is too great to justify the common view that they are a homogeneous people, immigrants from Asia by way of Bering Strait. Racial affinities with the Australians and the Melanesians are indicated, but the sea distances are too great for

the ancestors of those unskilled mariners to have conquered. The author believes that the sub-stratum of American population came from the Pacific to South America by way of the Antarctic, at a time when climatic conditions were more favourable there than at present.

- MILLER, RAY E. *A strobophotographic analysis of a Tlingit Indian's speech* (International journal of American linguistics, vol. VI, no. 1, March, 1930, pp. 47-68).

The difficulties and the limitations in the perception and recording of languages have long been recognized, and attempts have been made to overcome them by mechanical means. An experiment was recently made at the University of Iowa to study with a Metfessel strobophotograph a phonograph record of a Tlingit Indian's speech. This article describes the method used to transfer the transcription from the film to a permanent chart, and also gives a preliminary sound wave analysis with reference to pitch and duration.

- MILLWARD, A. E. (collator and editor). *Southern Baffin Island: An account of exploration, investigation and settlement during the past fifty years*, with an appendix "The crossing of Baffin Island to Foxe Basin by Bernard A. Hantzsch in 1910" translated by M. B. A. ANDERSON. Ottawa: Department of the Interior. 1930. Pp. 130, illustrations, 15 maps.

This account of the history and the results of explorations in Baffin Island since 1880 contains scattered ethnological references as well as a number of excellent photographs of native life.

- MORICE, A. G. *L'ouest canadien* (Bulletin de la Société Neuchateloise de Géographie, tome XXXVII, 1928, pp. 5-58, and *id*, tome XXXVIII, 1929, pp. 5-44).

These two essays on the western provinces of Canada, although primarily historical and geographical in scope, contain a considerable amount of information about the native tribes.

- MORRISON, J. C. *Totems* (Museum and art notes, vol. V, no. 1, March, 1930, pp. 3-6).

The art of the coastal Indians of British Columbia was influenced by totemic beliefs.

- NEWCOMBE, W. A. *Anthropology and archæology* (Province of British Columbia, report of the Provincial Museum of Natural History for the year 1928, Victoria, 1929, pp. 10-12).

In this annual report of the activities of the British Columbia Provincial Museum are figured and described an unusual marble figurine from the northern part of the province, and also a petroglyph from Vancouver Island.

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*Thunder-bird and whale* (Province of British Columbia, report of the Provincial Museum of Natural History for the year 1929, Victoria): 1930, pp. 10-11).

According to the mythology of several British Columbian tribes, thunder is caused by an enormous bird capable of seizing and flying away with whales. The centre of distribution of this tradition seems to be the Nootka, on the west coast of Vancouver Island, who have illustrated such a capture in a number of carvings and paintings.

- NORDENSKIÖLD, Baran ERLAND. *The American Indian as an inventor* (Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. LIX, July-December, 1929, pp. 273-309).

A study of Indian culture displays a large number of elements found only in the New World, and hence, necessarily, of indigenous origin. This leads to a consideration of whether other traits, found in several continents, may not have been independently invented in America, a thesis supported, in a number of cases,

by series ranging from primitive forms to ones of a complex nature, evidently of local growth. Even in articles introduced by Europeans the native has shown considerable adaptive ingenuity. In any consideration of trans-oceanic cultural influences, the inventiveness of the Indian is a factor which must not be forgotten.

ORCHARD, WILLIAM C. *A Massachusetts pot and an Alaska lamp* (Indian notes, vol. VII, no. 2, April, 1930, pp. 148-153).

The Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, has recently obtained an Eskimo lamp of the usual Kodiak type, but decorated with a human face on the under surface. This appears to be a unique specimen.

OETTEKING, BRUNO. *Craniology of the northwest coast of North America* (Atti del XXII Congresso Internazionale degli Americanisti, Roma, Settembre, 1926, vol. I, pp. 421-425).

The skeletal material collected on the north-west coast by the Jesup Expedition between 1897-1902 has been studied and analysed by the author whose principal conclusions with regard both to deformed and non-deformed skulls are here briefly described. A table showing actual and percental frequencies summarizes his results.

PALMER, ROSE A. *The North American Indians*. (Smithsonian scientific series, vol. IV.) New York: Smithsonian Institution Series, Inc. 1929. Pp. xvi, 309; 85 plates.

To be reviewed later.

PARKER, ARTHUR C. *Aboriginal cultures and chronology of the Genesee country* (Proceedings of the Rochester Academy of Science, vol. VI, no. 8, September, 1929, pp. 243-283).

Archæological investigations in western New York show strata of distinct aboriginal culture, Eskimo-like, Algonkian, Mound-Builder, and Iroquoian. With the exception of the Mound-Builders, the same cultures are present in Ontario and Quebec where, however, their sequence has not been worked out. This is a valuable summary of the characteristics, relative chronology and interrelations of each, presenting both the facts and the author's reasoned interpretations of them, including even a tentative dating of the different strains. It is as pertinent for Ontario as for New York.

PÉNARD, J. M. *Land ownership and chieftaincy among the Chippewyan and Caribou-Eaters* (Primitive man, vol. II, nos. 1 and 2, January and April, 1929, pp. 20-24).

This brief note indicates the existence of family hunting areas among the little-known Chippewyan, an Athapaskan-speaking tribe of northern Saskatchewan and Alberta.

PHILHOWER, CHARLES A. *Wampum, its use and value* (Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society, vol. XV, no. 2, April, 1930, pp. 216-223).

Wampum served as a kind of unstandardized currency among the Indians of most of eastern North America at the time of early settlement. Its use was continued by white settlers, being legal tender in Manhattan, for example, until about 1680. The author gives a table of values for wampum in New England and describes its manufacture, including counterfeit forms.

RASMUSSEN, KNUD. *Woher stammen die Eskimos?* (Kosmos, bd. 27, heft 6, Juni, 1930, pp. 194-199 and *id.* bd. 27, heft 7, Juli, 1930, pp. 244-246).

Conditions both of ice and of tundra comparable to those experienced in Europe during the last glaciation prevail to-day in northern Canada, where the Eskimo exist in an environment similar to that of the Magdalenian period of the upper Palæolithic Age. Recent investigations by the Fifth Thule Expedition among the Caribou Eskimo west of Hudson Bay strengthen the hypothesis ad-

vanced by various writers that the modern inhabitants of the Arctic are culturally related to Magdalenian man, a view supported on somatological grounds by the Chancelade skeleton from the last glacial period in France. The author inclines to this view and pleads for an intensive archaeological investigation of the whole Arctic area as the only means of settling the point.

- SALLER, K. *Zur Anthropologie der Sioux-Indianer* (Zeitschrift für Morphologie und Anthropologie, bd. XXVII, heft 3, 1929, pp. 409-421).

The results are given of detailed measurements of twenty-two Sioux Indians. Comparisons are made of the ratios between the sexes, and these are tabulated in conjunction with similar ratios of a European group.

- SCHILLING, FRIEDRICH. *Die Frage der indianisch-europäischen Rassenverwandschaft* (Zeitschrift für Morphologie und Anthropologie, bd. XXVII, heft 3, 1929, pp. 429-438).

Detailed studies of a small number of Sioux Indians give no support to the theory of early European admixture in the population of America.

- SCHMIDT, W. *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee: Teil II. Die Religionen der Urvölker: Band II. Die Religionen der Urvölker Amerikas.* Münster (Westfalen). 1929. Pp. xlv 1065.

Pursuing his general theme of the all-embracing importance of monotheism in primitive religions, the author summarizes in a masterly fashion the beliefs of those tribes which he considers represent an archaic stratum in America. These include the Algonkian-speaking groups where his exposition is not only a valuable summary, but opens up many concrete problems as well.

- SCHULLER, RUDOLF. *Bibliography of American linguistics 1926-1928* (International journal of American linguistics, vol. VI, no. 1, March, 1930, pp. 69-75).

This valuable list cites about one hundred and fifty books and articles on Indian languages which appeared between 1926 and 1928.

- SERGI, GIUSEPPE. *Di alcuni caratteri speciali negli indigeni americani* (Atti del XXII, Congresso Internazionale degli Americanisti, Roma, Settembre, 1926, vol. I, pp. 155-167).

The author lists and describes a number of head shapes found in America, emphasizing their diversity, and draws attention to several cranial peculiarities in which skulls from Tierra del Fuego resemble those from Australia and Tasmania.

- SEYMOUR, FLORA WARREN. *The story of the red man.* London, New York, Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co. 1929. Pp. xi, 421; 18 plates.

The contact between the Indian with his highly conservative and specialized Stone Age culture and the mechanically superior European will be misunderstood if the historian judges the incidents solely from the point of view of his own people and of his own writings. The author's theme is the relations between the two races within what is now the United States, especially as viewed by the native. With sympathy, but without undue sentimentality, she emphasizes the chasm of culture between the "red" and the "white", and by weaving her chapters around dramatic incidents gradually brings her tale to the present and to the rôle of the Indian to-day.

- SHETRONE, HENRY CLYDE. *The Mound-Builders.* New York and London: D. Appleton and Co. 1930. Pp. xx, 508.

To be reviewed later.

- SHOTRIDGE, LOUIS. *The bride of Tongass: A study of the Tlingit marriage ceremony* (Museum journal, June, 1929, pp. 131-156).

Among the Tlingit of the southern Alaskan coast, marriages were formerly



arranged by relatives of the bride and groom after long and careful consideration of the suitability of the partners both with regard to social position and to temperament. This article describes an ancient wedding, one in which the participants have become semi-legendary; the account is compiled from several versions of the incident. The author includes a number of observations on the Tlingit attitude towards morality.

SHOTRIDGE, LOUIS. *The Kaguanton shark helmet* (Museum journal, September-December, 1929, pp. 339-343).

A description is given of an ancient, and probably unique, Tlingit helmet from southern Alaska. It is made of walrus hide, shrunk by heating over a wooden framework, and carved in the same manner as wood.

SMITH, HARLAN I. *Kitchen-middens of the Pacific coast of Canada* (Proceedings of the Third Pan-Pacific Science Congress, Tokyo, 1926, vol. II, pp. 2492-2498).

Although extensive shell-heaps are found on the coast of British Columbia, it is difficult to estimate their age; a few are of modern origin, but many undoubtedly are of considerable antiquity. The culture of the makers differs but little from that of the modern inhabitants, nor do successive strata indicate even relative chronology. By counting the rings on trees growing over the deposits it can be shown that some sites were abandoned in the fifteenth century; others are probably much older but proof of this is lacking.

— and WINTERBERG, W. J. *Some shell-heaps in Nova Scotia*. (National Museum of Canada, bulletin 47, anthropological series 9.) Ottawa: 1929. Pp. 192; 32 plates.

This volume contains two reports on archaeological work in Nova Scotia; the first—by H. I. Smith—deals with the shell-heaps of Merigomish Harbour near New Glasgow, the second—by W. J. Winterberg—with a smaller deposit in Lunenburg County. The specimens excavated include large numbers of potsherds, stone points, and bone implements; there is no indication of horticulture. Analysis and comparison of the material leads to the conclusion that the shell-heaps mark summer camps of an eastern Algonkian people, probably akin to the Micmac, if not the actual ancestors of that tribe. This report, by making it possible to reconstruct much of the life of the eastern littoral tribes in pre-Columbian times, is an admirable example of what can be accomplished by exact archaeological methods.

SMITH, MAURICE G. *American Indian tribal names* (American speech, vol. V, no. 2, December, 1929, pp. 114-117).

The author gives the origin of the English designations for several Indian tribes.

SPECK, FRANK G. *Land ownership among hunting peoples in primitive America and the world's marginal areas* (Atti del XXII Congresso Internazionale degli Americanisti, Roma, Settembre, 1926, vol. II, pp. 323-332).

Contrary to the theoretical evolutionary views formerly held that man, when dependent upon hunting for existence, owned land communally, it now appears that definite ownership is, or was, found among many primitive communities of that type. In North America it is clear that family groups owned definite territories and had exact rules for conserving game supplies among the eastern and northern Algonkians, and probably among the Athapaskans as well. The practice is, accordingly, limited to hunting peoples of the woodland and semi-Arctic belts; it occurs in other parts of the world in regions where comparable economic, though not necessarily geographic, conditions occur.

STRONG, WILLIAM DUNCAN. *A stone culture from northern Labrador and its relation to the Eskimo-like cultures of the northeast* (American anthropologist, vol. XXXII, no. 1, January-March, 1930, pp. 126-144).

Artifacts resembling those made by the Eskimo, and usually attributed to that people or to tribes influenced by them, have long been known from ancient sites in eastern Canada and the north-eastern United States. Similar objects have recently been found in northern Labrador where comparison with Eskimo articles from the vicinity emphasizes the differences between the two. The author suggests that the widely distributed culture is probably not true Eskimo, but represents a people prior both to them and to the Algonkians, hunting and fishing folk who may possibly have been the ancestors of the Eskimo.

THALBITZER, WILLIAM. *The cultic deities of the Inuit (Eskimo)*. (Atti del XXII Congresso Internazionale degli Americanisti, Roma, Settembre, 1926, vol. II, pp. 367-393).

Although not identical, there is general agreement in Eskimo religious beliefs from Greenland to the north-east corner of Asia. Their supernatural beings include spirits, invisible to all but the shamans whom they sometimes assist, and three independent deities of a more distant and higher type. Comparisons with the mythology and beliefs of other peoples show resemblances among the Altaian-Turkish tribes of central Asia, the Koryak, and the Indians of northern British Columbia. Cultural influences must have reached the Eskimo from these three sources, of which the most important was, perhaps, a succession of waves of Asiatic shamanism.

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*Is there any connection between the Eskimo language and the Uralian?* (Atti del XXII Congresso Internazionale degli Americanisti, Roma, Settembre, 1926, vol. II, pp. 551-567).

A number of resemblances between Eskimo and some of the Finno-Ugrian languages have led certain writers to postulate a relationship between the two. The most exhaustive study of this nature is by Sauvageot, who claims to have proved a genetic connection. In this paper the author critically analyses his work, sifting the evidence both lexically and morphologically, and concludes that the thesis is definitely unproven. Simple word resemblances may be only "loans", similar to other common elements of the Arctic culture, and the grammatical structure is too dissimilar to have had the same source.

THOMPSON, STITH (ed.). *Tales of the North American Indians*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. 1929. Pp. xxiii, 386.

To be reviewed later.

TROMBETTI, ALFREDO. *Origine asiatica delle lingue e popolazioni americane* (Atti del XXII Congresso Internazionale degli Americanisti, Roma, Settembre, 1926, vol. I, pp. 169-246).

The aboriginal population of America was not indigenous, and physical characteristics indicate Asia as the continent whence came the ancestors of the Indians. By elimination of impossibilities, the conclusion is reached that they migrated by way of Bering Strait. An exhaustive comparison of vocabularies shows sufficient resemblances between various Indonesian languages and those of America to prove their genetic relationship, thus confirming the previous hypothesis.

TURQUETIL, ARSÈNE. *The religion of the central Eskimo* (Primitive man, vol. II, nos. 3 and 4, July and October, 1929, pp. 57-64).

In addition to the coastal Eskimo, there is a scant population on the inland

tundra west of Hudson Bay where small family groups rove in a ceaseless quest for game. The author gives a useful summary of the principal features of Eskimo social and religious life in this area.

WELTFISH, GENE. *Prehistoric North American basketry techniques and modern distributions* (American anthropologist, vol. XXXII, no. 3, part 1, July-September, 1930, pp. 454-495).

This is an elaborate and painstaking survey of the methods of basket-making practised by the American Indians, as well as comparisons with earlier techniques as shown by archaeological investigations.

WEST, GEORGE A. *Copper: Its mining and use by the aborigines of the Lake Superior region*. [Report of the McDonald-Massee Isle Royale Expedition 1928.] (Bulletin of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, vol. X, no. 1.) Milwaukee: 1929. Pp. 184; 30 plates, 12 figures, 2 maps.

During 1928 an expedition from the Milwaukee Public Museum investigated the archaeology of Isle Royale, Michigan, the site of the mines from which was dug most of the copper used for tools and ornaments over a large part of eastern North America. The metal was quarried out, fire and water being used to facilitate the breaking away of lumps of copper with unhafted stone mauls. Thousands of the latter were found, as well as fragments of pottery and other remains, but no indication of the tribal affinities of the miners was obtained. The description of the field-work is followed by a tabulation of types of copper artifacts, based upon the 2,600 specimens in the Milwaukee Public Museum.

WEYER, EDWARD MOFFAT, Jr. *An Aleutian burial* (American Museum of Natural History, anthropological papers, vol. XXXI, part 3, 1929, pp. 219-238; 7 illustrations).

In 1928 the Stoll-McCracken Expedition located an important Aleut burial on an almost inaccessible islet off the coast of Unalaska Island. Four bodies, wrapped in seal-skins and in fine grass mats, were laid in a wooden sarcophagus, furnished with various artifacts, including beads of Korean amber. The date of the grave is clearly pre-European, but its approximate age cannot be estimated.

WHEELER, E. P. *Journeys about Nain* (Geographical review, July, 1930, pp. 454-468).

If seal hunting in the autumn is a failure, the Eskimo of Central Labrador are forced to depend on small and wandering herds of caribou. The author describes a number of such hunts in which he participated.

WISSLER, CLARK. *The universal appeal of the American Indian* (Natural history, vol. XXX, no. 1, January-February, 1930, pp. 33-40).

Although the Indian is firmly entrenched in popular thought and in literature, even the outstanding differences in the lives of the natives in different parts of the country are not generally understood. To illustrate the diverse cultures, the American Museum of Natural History has prepared a series of groups, showing typical scenes of aboriginal life; these are described in this article which also gives considerable general information about the normal activities of the Indians.

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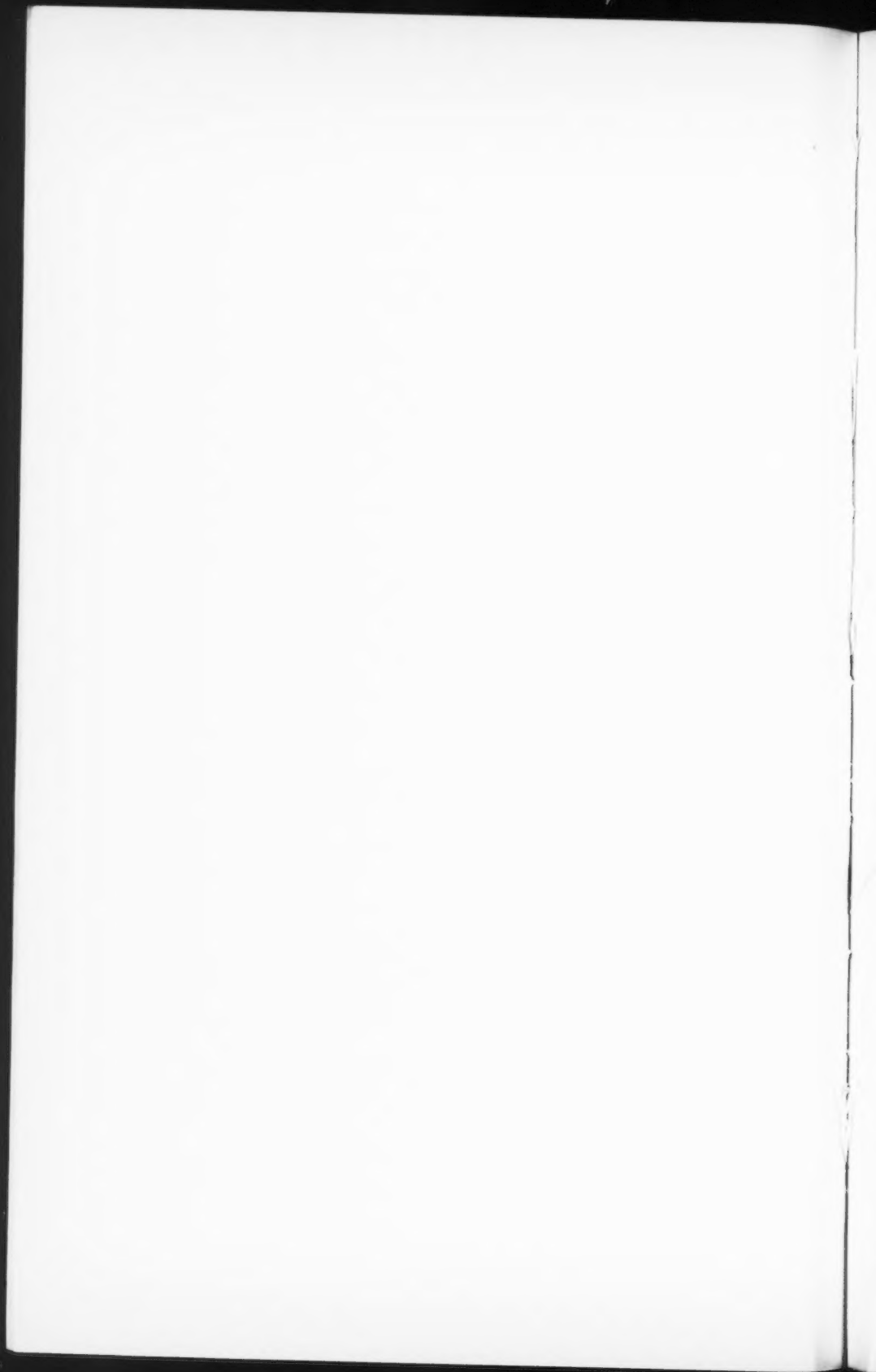


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Section 8. On and after such date as may be fixed by the Lieutenant-Governor by proclamation, every urban municipality with a population of five thousand and over shall and any other municipality or school section may, through the authorities hereinafter named, establish and maintain part time courses of instruction for the education of adolescents.

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January .....	20	July .....	.....
February .....	20	August .....	.....
March .....	22	September .....	21
April .....	16	October .....	22
May .....	20	November .....	20
June .....	20	December .....	16
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	118	Total.....	197

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Open .....	5th January	Close .....	2nd April
Reopen .....	13th April	Close .....	29th June
Reopen .....	1st Sept.	Close .....	22nd December

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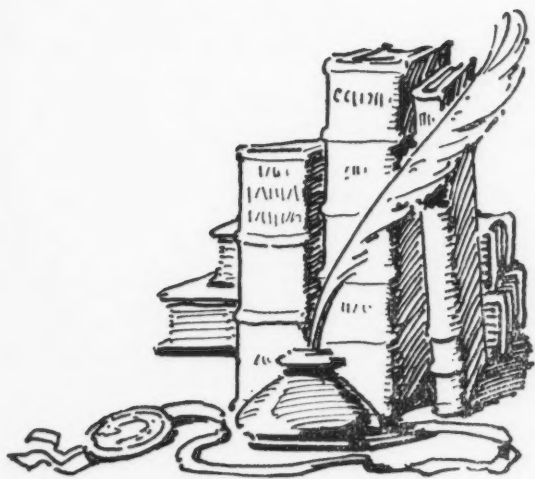
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